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THE LIFE  
OF  
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,  
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,  
AND  
CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD :  
IN WHICH IS INCLUDED,  
A CONTINUATION  
OF HIS  
HISTORY OF THE GRAND REBELLION.

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WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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THE CONTINUATION  
OF  
THE LIFE  
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441 **T**HERE was another mischief contrived about this time, that had a much worse influence upon the public, except we shall call it the same, because it did in truth proceed from it. Though the public state of affairs, in respect of the distempers and discomposures which are mentioned before, and that the expenses exceeded what was assigned to support it, whereby the great debt was little diminished, yielded little delight to those who were most trusted to manage and provide for them, and who had a melancholic and dreadful apprehension of consequences; yet whilst the nation continued in peace, and without any danger from any foreign enemy, the prospect was so pleasant, especially to those who stood at a distance, that they saw nothing worthy of any man's fear; and there was reasonable hope, that the expenses might every year be reduced within reasonable [bounds]. But all that hope vanished, when there appeared an immoderate desire to engage the nation in a war.

442 Upon the king's first arrival in England, he manifested a very great desire to improve the general traffick and

trade of the kingdom, and upon all occasions conferred with the most active merchants upon it, and offered all that he could contribute to the advancement thereof. He erected a council of trade, which produced little other effect than the opportunity of men's speaking together, which possibly disposed them to think more, and to consult more effectually in private, than they could in such a crowd of commissioners. Some merchants and seamen made a proposition by Mr. William Coventry and some few others to the duke of York, "for the erection of a company in which they desired his royal highness to pre-side," (and from thence it was called the Royal Company,) "to which his majesty should grant the sole trade of Guinea, which in a short time they presumed would bring great advantage to the public, and much profit to the adventurers, who should begin upon a joint stock, to be managed by a council of such as should be chosen out of the adventurers."

- 443 This privilege had before the troubles [been] granted by the late king to sir Nicholas Crisp and others named by him, who had at their own charge sent ships thither: and sir Nicholas had at his own charge bought a nock of ground, that lay into the sea, of the true owners thereof, (all that coast being inhabited by heathens,) and built thereon a good fort and warehouses, under which the ships lay; and he had advanced this trade so far before the troubles, that he found it might be carried on with very great benefit. After the rebellion began, and sir Nicholas betook himself to serve the king, some merchants continued the trade, and either by his consent or Cromwell's power had the possession of that fort, called Cormantine; which was still in the possession of the English when his majesty returned, though the trade was small, in respect the Dutch had fixed a stronger quarter at no great distance from it, and sent much more ships and commodities thither, and returned [once] every year

to their own country with much wealth. The chief end of this trade was, besides the putting off great quantities of our own manufactures according as the trade should advance, to return with gold, which that coast produced in good quantity, and with slaves, blacks, which were readily sold to any plantation at great prices.

- 444 The model was so well prepared, and the whole method for governing the trade so rationally proposed, that the duke was much pleased with it, and quickly procured a charter to be granted from the king to this company with ample privileges, and his majesty himself to become an adventurer, and, which was more, to assist them for the first establishment of their trade with the use of some of his own ships. The duke was the governor of the company, with power to make a deputy: all the other officers and council were chosen by the company, which consisted of persons of honour and quality, every one of which brought in five hundred pounds for the first joint stock, with which they set out the first ships; upon the return whereof they received so much encouragement and benefit, that they compounded with sir Nicholas Crisp for his propriety in the fort and castle; and possessed themselves of another place upon the coast, and sent many ships thither, which made very good returns, by putting off their blacks at the Barbadoes and other the king's plantations at their own prices, and brought home such store of gold that administered the first occasion for the coinage of those pieces, which from thence had the denomination of *guineas*; and what was afterwards made of the same species was coined of the gold that was brought from that coast by the royal company. In a word, if that company be not broken or disordered by the jealousy that the gentlemen adventurers have of the merchants, and their opinion that they understand the mysteries of trade as well as the other, by which they refuse to concur in the necessary expedients proposed by the other, and

interpose unskilful overtures of their own with pertinacy, it will be found a model equally to advance the trade of England with that of any other company, even that of the East Indies.

- 445 From the first entrance into this trade, which the duke was exceedingly disposed to advance, and was constantly present himself at all councils, which were held once a week in his own lodgings at Whitehall, it was easily discovered that the Dutch had a better trade there than the English, which they were then willing to believe that they had no right to, for that the trade was first found out and settled there by the English; which was a sufficient foundation to settle it upon this nation, and to exclude all others, at least by the same law that the Spaniard enjoys the West Indies, and the Dutch what they or the Portuguese possessed in the East. But this they quickly found would not establish such a title as would bear a dispute: the having sent a ship or two thither, and built a little fort, could not be allowed such a possession as would exclude all other nations. And the truth was, the Dutch were there some time before us, and the Dane before either: and the Dutch, which was the true grievance, had planted themselves more advantageously, upon the bank of a river, than we had done; and by the erection of more forts were more strongly seated, and drove a much greater trade, which they did not believe they would be persuaded to quit. This drew the discourse from the right to the easiness, by the assistance of two or three of the king's ships, to take away all that the Dutch possessed in and about Guinea, there having never been a ship of war seen in those parts; so that the work might be presently done, and such an alliance made with the natives, who did not love the Dutch, that the English [might] be unquestionably possessed of the whole trade of that country, which would be of inestimable profit to the kingdom.



446 The merchants took much delight to enlarge themselves upon this argument, and shortly after to discourse “ of the infinite benefit that would accrue from a bare-faced war against the Dutch, how easily they might be subdued, and the trade carried by the English. That Cromwell had always beaten them, and thereby gotten the greatest glory he had, and brought them upon their knees; and could totally have subdued them, if he had not thought it more for his interest to have such a second, whereby he might the better support his usurpation against the king. And therefore, after they had consented to all the infamous conditions of the total abandoning his majesty, and as far as in them lay to the extirpation of all the royal family, and to a perpetual exclusion of the prince of Orange, he made a firm peace with them; which they had not yet performed, by their retaining still the island of Poleroone, which they had so long since barbarously taken from the English, and which they had expressly promised and undertaken to deliver in the last treaty, after Cromwell had compelled them to pay a great sum of money for the damages which the English had sustained at Amboyna, when all the demands and threats from king James could never procure any satisfaction for that foul action.”

447 These discourses, often reiterated in season and out of season, made a very deep impression in the duke; who having been even from his childhood in the command in armies, and in his nature inclined to the most difficult and dangerous enterprises, was already weary of having so little to do, and too impatiently longed for any war, in which he knew he could not but have the chief command. But these kind of debates, or the place in which they were made, could contribute little to an affair of so huge an importance, other[wise] than by inciting the duke, which they did too much, to consider and affect it, and to dispose others who were near him to inculcate the

same thoughts into him, as an argument in which his honour would be much exalted in the eye of all the world : and to [these] good offices they were enough disposed by the restlessness and unquietness of their own natures, and by many other motives for the accomplishing their own designs, and getting more power into their own hands.

448 But there was lately, very lately, a peace fully concluded with the States General upon the same terms, articles, and conditions, which they had formerly yielded to Cromwell, being very much more advantageous than they had ever granted in any treaty to the crown. And at the time of the conclusion of the peace, they delivered their orders from the States General and their East India company for the delivery of the island of Poleroone to the English, and which Cromwell himself had extorted from them with the greatest difficulty : so that there was now no colour of justice to make a war upon them. Besides that there were at present great jealousies from Spain upon the marriage with Portugal ; nor did France, which had broken promise in making a treaty with Holland, make any haste to renew the treaty with England. And therefore it could not but seem strange to all men, that when we had only made a treaty of peace with Holland, and that so newly, and upon so long consideration, and had none with either of the crowns, we should so much desire to enter into a war with them.

449 However, the duke's heart was set upon it, and he loved to speak of it, and the benefits which would attend it. He spake of it to the king, whom he found no ways inclined to it, and therefore he knew it was unfit to propose it in council : yet he spake often of it to such of the lords of whom he had the best opinion, and found many of them to concur with him in the opinion of the advantages which might arise from thence. And sometimes he thought he left the king disposed to it, by an argu-

ment which he found prevailed with many : “that the differences and jealousies in point of trade, which did every day fall out and would every day increase between the English and the Dutch, who had in the late distractions gotten great advantages, would unavoidably produce a war between them ; and then that the question only was, whether it were not better for us to begin it now, when they do not expect it, and we are better prepared for it than probably we shall be then ; or to stay two or three years, in which the same jealousy would provoke them to be well provided, when probably we might not be ready. That we had the best sea officers in the world, many of whom had often beaten the Dutch, and knew how to do it again ; and a multitude of excellent mariners and common seamen : all which, if they found that nothing would be done at home, would disperse themselves in merchant voyages to the Indies and the Straits ; and probably so many good men would never be found together again.”

450 And with such arguments he many times thought that he left the king much moved : but when he spake to him again (though he knew that he had no kindness for the Dutch) his majesty was changed, and very averse to a war ; which he imputed to the chancellor, who had not dissembled, as often as his highness spake to him, to be passionately and obstinately against it. And he did take all the opportunities he could find to confirm the king in his aversion to it, who was in his heart averse from it, by presenting to him the state of his own affairs, “the great debt that yet lay upon him, which with peace and good husbandry might be in some time paid ; but a war would involve him in so much greater, that no man could see the end of it. That he would be able to preserve himself against the factions and distempers in his own kingdom, and probably suppress them, if he were without a foreign enemy : but if he should be engaged in a war

abroad, his domestic divisions, especially those in religion, would give him more trouble than he could well struggle withal.

451 "That it was an erroneous assumption, that the Dutch would be better provided for a war two or three years hence, and his majesty worse, for which there was no reason. That within that time it would be his own fault, if the distempers in his three kingdoms were not composed, which would make him much fitter for a war; whereas now neither of them could be said to be in peace, that of Ireland being totally unsettled, and that of Scotland not yet well pleased, and England far from it. That in that time it was very probable that the two crowns would be again engaged in a war; since it was generally believed, and with great reason, that France only expected the death of the king of Spain, who was very infirm, and meant then to fall into Flanders, having at the same time with great expense provided great magazines of corn and hay upon the borders, which could be for no other end. That whilst he continued in peace, his friendship would be valuable to all the princes of Europe, and the two crowns would strive who should gain him: but if he engaged in a war, and in such a war as [that with] Holland, which would interrupt and disturb all the trade of the kingdom, upon which the greatest part of his revenue did rise; all other princes would look on, and not much esteem any offices he could perform to them. And lastly, that a little time might possibly administer a just occasion of a war, which at present there was not."

452 These, and better arguments which the king's own understanding suggested to him, made him fully resolve against the war, and to endeavour to change his brother from affecting it, which wrought not at all upon him; but finding that many things fell from the king in the argument, which had been alleged to himself by the chancellor, he concluded the mischief came from him, and was

displeased accordingly, and complained to his wife, “that her father should oppose him in an affair upon which he knew his heart was so much set, and of which every body took so much notice;” which troubled her very much. And she very earnestly desired her father, “that he would no more oppose the duke in that matter.” He answered her, “that she did not enough understand the consequence of that affair; but that he would take notice to the duke of what she had said, and give him the best answer he could.” And accordingly he waited upon the duke, who very frankly confessed to him, “that he took it very unkindly, that he should so positively endeavour to cross a design so honourable in itself, [and] so much desired by the city of London; and he was confident [it] would be very grateful to the parliament, and that they would supply the king with money enough to carry it on, which would answer the chief objection. That he was engaged to pursue it, and he could not but be sorry and displeased, that every body should see how little credit he had with him.”

453 The chancellor told him, “that he had no apprehension that any sober man in England, or his highness himself, should believe that he could fail in his duty to him, or that he would omit any opportunity to make it manifest, which he could never do without being a fool or a madman. On the other hand, he could never give an advice, or consent to it whoever gave it, which in his judgment and conscience would be very mischievous to the crown and to the kingdom, though his royal highness or the king himself were inclined to it.” He did assure him, “that he found the king very averse from any thought of this war, before he ever discovered his own opinion of it;” but denied not, “that he had taken all opportunities to confirm him in that judgment by arguments that he thought could not be answered; and that the consequence of that war would be very pernicious. That he did pre-

sume that many good men, with whom he had conferred, did seem to concur with his highness out of duty to him, and as they saw it would be grateful to him, or upon a sudden, and without making those reflections which would afterwards occur to them, and make them change their minds. That a few merchants, nor all the merchants in London, were [not] the city of London, which had had war enough, and could only become rich by peace. That he did not think the parliament would be forward to encourage that war; nor should the king be desirous that they should interpose their advice in it, since it was a subject entirely in the king's own determination: but if they should appear never so forward in it, he was old enough to remember when a parliament did advise, and upon the matter compel, his grandfather king James to enter into a war with Spain, upon promise of ample supplies; and yet when he was engaged in it, they gave him no more supply; so that at last the crown was compelled to accept of a peace not very honourable."

454 Beside the arguments he had used to the king, he besought his highness to reflect upon some others more immediately relating to himself, "upon the want of able men to conduct the counsels upon which such a war must be carried on; how few accidents might expose the crown to those distresses, that it might with more difficulty be buoyed up than it had lately been;" with many other arguments, which he thought made some impression upon the duke. And for some months there was no more mention or discourse in the court of the war; though they who first laid the design still cultivated it, and made little [doubt] of bringing it at last to pass.

455 At or about this time there was a transaction of great importance, which at the time was not popular nor indeed understood, and afterwards was objected against the chancellor in his misfortunes, as a principal argument of his infidelity and corruption; which was the sale of Dunkirk:

the whole proceeding whereof shall be plainly and exactly related from the beginning to the end thereof.

456 The charge and expense the crown was at; the pay of the land forces and garrisons; the great fleets set out to sea for the reduction of the Turkish pirates of Algiers and Tunis, and for guarding the narrow seas, and security of the merchants; the constant yearly charge of the garrison of Dunkirk, of that at Tangier, and the vast expense of building a mole there, for which there was an establishment, together with the garrisons at Bombayne and in Jamaica, (none of which had been known to the crown in former times;) and the lord treasurer's frequent representation of all this to the king, as so prodigious an expense as could never be supported; had put his majesty to frequent consultations how he might lessen and save any part of it. But no expedient could be resolved upon. The lord treasurer, who was most troubled when money was wanted, had many secret conferences with the general and with the best seamen, of the benefit that accrued to the crown by keeping of Dunkirk; the constant charge and expense whereof amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand pounds yearly: and he found by them that it was a place of little importance. It is true that he had conferred of it with the chancellor, with whom he held a fast friendship; but found him so averse from it, that he resolved to speak with him no more, till the king had taken some resolution. And to that purpose he persuaded the general to go with him to the king and to the duke of York, telling them both, "that the chancellor must know nothing of it:" and after several debates the king thought it so counsellable a thing, that he resolved to have it debated before that committee which he trusted in his most secret affairs; and the chancellor being then lame of the gout, he commanded that all those lords should attend him at his house. Beside his majesty himself and the duke of York, there appeared the lord trea-

surer, the general, the earl of Sandwich, the vice-chamberlain sir George Carteret, who had been a great commander at sea, and the two secretaries of state. When the king entered the room with the lord treasurer, he desired his majesty, smiling, "that he would take the chancellor's staff from him, otherwise he would break his head." When they were all sat, the king told him, "they were all come to debate an affair that he knew he was against, which was the parting with Dunkirk; but he did believe, when he had heard all that was said for it and against it, he would change his mind, as he himself had done." And so the debate was entered into in this method, after enough was said of the straits the crown was in, and what the yearly expense was.

- 457 1. "That the profit which did or could accrue to the kingdom by the keeping of Dunkirk was very inconsiderable, whether in war or peace. That by sea it was very little useful, it being no harbour, nor having place for the king's ships to ride in with safety; and that if it were in the hand of an enemy, it could do us little prejudice, because three or four ships might block it up, and keep it from infesting its neighbours: and that though heretofore it had been a place of license at sea, and had much obstructed trade by their men of war, yet that proceeded only from the unskilfulness of that time in applying proper remedies to it; which was manifest by Cromwell's blocking them up, and restraining them when he made war upon them, insomuch as all the men of war left that place, and betook themselves to other harbours. That it was so weak to the land (notwithstanding the great charge his majesty had been at in the fortifications, which were not yet finished) by the situation and the soil, that it required as many men within to defend it, as the army should consist of that besieged it; otherwise that it could never hold out and endure a siege of two months: as it appeared clearly by its having been taken and retaken so



many times within the late years, in all which times it never held out so long, though there was always an army at no great distance to relieve it.

458 2. "That the charge of keeping and maintaining it, without any accidents from the attempt of an enemy, did amount unto above one hundred and twenty thousand pounds by the year, which was a sum the revenue of the crown could not supply, without leaving many other particulars of much more importance unprovided for." And this was not lightly or cursorily urged ; but the state of the revenue, and the constant and indispensable issues, were at the same time presented and carefully examined.

459 3. "It could not reasonably be believed, but that if Dunkirk was kept, his majesty would be shortly involved in a war with one of the two crowns. The Spanish ambassador had already demanded restitution of it in point of justice, it having been taken from his master by the late usurper, in a time when there was not only a peace between his majesty and the king of Spain, but when his majesty resided, and was entertained by the catholic king, in Flanders : and at this time both France and Spain inhibited their subjects from paying those small contributions to the garrison at Dunkirk, and endeavoured to restrain the governor himself from enjoying some privileges, which had been always enjoyed by him from the time that it had been put into Cromwell's hands." And it was upon this and many other reasons then conceived, "that as it would be very hard for the king to preserve a neutrality towards both crowns, even during the time of the war between them," (which temper was thought very necessary for his majesty's affairs ; ) "so it would be much more difficult long to avoid a war with one of them upon the keeping Dunkirk, if the peace that was newly made should remain firm and unshaken."

460 Upon these reasons, urged and agreed upon by those who could not but be thought very competent judges, in

respect of their several professions and great experience, the king resolved to ease himself of the insupportable burden of maintaining Dunkirk, and to part with it in such a manner as might be most for his advantage and benefit. There remained then no other question, than into what hand to put it: and the measure of that was only who would give most money for it, there being no inclination to prefer one before another. It was enough understood, that both crowns would be very glad to have it, and would probably both make large offers for it. But it was then as evident, that whatsoever France should contract for, the king would be sure to receive, and the business would be soon despatched: whereas on the other hand it was as notorious and evident to his majesty, and to all who had any knowledge of the court of Spain, and of the scarcity of money there and in Flanders; that how large offers soever the Spaniard might make, they could not be able in any time to pay any considerable sum of money; and that there would be so much time spent in consult between Madrid and Brussels before it could be despatched, that the keeping it so long in his majesty's hands would in the expense disappoint him of a good part of the end in parting with it. Besides that it seemed at that time probable, that the Spaniard would shortly declare himself an enemy; for besides that he demanded Dunkirk as of right, so he likewise required the restitution of Tangier and Jamaica upon the same reason, and declared, "that without it there could be no lasting peace between England and Spain," and refused so much as to enter upon a treaty of alliance with the king, before he should promise to make such a restitution.

461 There wanted not in this conference and debate the consideration of the States of the United Provinces, as persons like enough to desire the possession of Dunkirk, from whence they had formerly received so much damage, and were like enough to receive more whenever they

should be engaged in any war: and if in truth they should have any such desire, more money might be reasonably required, and probably be obtained from them, than could be expected from either of the kings. But upon the discussion of that point, it did appear to every man's reason very manifest, that though they had rather that Dunkirk should be put into the hands of the Spaniard than delivered to France, or than it should be detained by the English; yet they durst not receive it into their own possession, which neither of the two crowns would have approved of, and so it would have exposed them to the displeasure, if not to the hostility, of both the kings.

462 Upon this full deliberation, his majesty inclined rather to give it up to France than to Spain; but deferred any positive resolution till he had imparted the whole matter to the council-board, where the debate was again resumed, principally, "whether it were more counsellable to keep it at so vast a charge, or to part with it for a good sum of money." And in that debate the mention of what had been heretofore done in the house of commons upon that subject was not omitted, nor the bill that they had sent up to the house of peers for annexing it inseparably to the crown: but that was not thought of moment; for as it had been suddenly entertained in the house of commons, upon the Spanish ambassador's first proposition for the restitution, so it was looked upon in the house of peers as unfit in itself, and so laid aside after once being read, (which had been in the first convention soon after the king's return,) and so expired as soon as it was born. After a long debate of the whole matter at the council-board, where all was averred concerning the uselessness and weakness of the place, by those who had said it at the committee: there was but one lord of the council who offered his advice to the king against parting with it: and the ground of that lord's dissenting, who was the earl of St. Alban's, was enough understood to have nothing

of public in it, but to draw the negotiation for it into his own hands. In conclusion, his majesty resolved to put it into the hands of France, if that king would comply with his majesty's expectation in the payment of so much money as he would require for it: and a way was found out, that the king might privately be advertised of that his majesty's resolution, if he should have any desire to deal for it.

463 The advertisement was very welcome to the French king, who was then resolved to visit Flanders as soon as he should know of the death of the king of Spain, which was expected every day. Nor had he deferred it till then, upon the late affront his ambassador had received at London from the Spanish ambassador, (who by a contrived and laboured stratagem had got the precedence for his coach before the other; which the king of France received with that indignation, that he sent presently to demand justice at Madrid, commanded his ambassador to retire from thence, and would not suffer the Spanish ambassador to remain in Paris till he should have satisfaction, and was resolved to have begun a war upon it,) if the king of Spain had not acknowledged the fault of his ambassador, and under his hand declared the precedence to belong to France; which declaration was sent to the courts of all princes: and so for the present that spark of fire was extinguished, or rather raked up.

464 The king sent M. D'Estrades privately to London to treat about Dunkirk, without any character, but pretending to make it his way to Holland, whither he was designed ambassador. After he had waited upon the king, his majesty appointed four or five of the lords of his council, whereof the chancellor and treasurer and general were three, to treat with M. D'Estrades for the sale of Dunkirk; when the first conference was spent in endeavouring to persuade him to make the first offer for the price, which he could not be drawn to: so that the king's

commissioners were obliged to make their demand. And they asked the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be paid upon the delivery of Dunkirk and Mardike into the possession of the king of France; which sum appeared to him to be so stupendous, that he seemed to think the treaty at an end, and resolved to make no offer at all on the part of his master. And so the conference brake up.

- 465 At the next meeting he offered three millions of livres, which according to the common account amounted to three hundred thousand pistoles, which the king's commissioners as much undervalued; so that any further conference was discontinued, till he had sent an express or two into France, and till their return: for as the expectation of a great sum of ready money was the king's motive to part with it, besides the saving the monthly charge; so they concluded that his necessities would oblige him to part with it at a moderate price. And after the return of the expresses, the king's commissioners insisting still upon what D'Estrades thought too much, and he offering what they thought too little, the treaty seemed to be at an end, and he prepared for his return. In conclusion, his majesty being fully as desirous to part with it as the king of France could be to have it, it was agreed and concluded, "that upon the payment of five hundred thousand pistoles in specie at Calais to such persons as the king should appoint to receive it, his majesty's garrison of Dunkirk and Mardike should be withdrawn, and those places put into the hands of the king of France:" all which was executed accordingly. And without doubt it was a greater sum of money than was ever paid at one payment by any prince in Christendom, upon what occasion soever; and every body seemed very glad to see so vast a sum of money delivered into the Tower of London, as it was all together; the king at the same time declaring, "that no part of it should be applied to any ordinary

occasion, but be preserved for some pressing accident, as an insurrection or the like," which was reasonably enough apprehended.

466 Nor was [there] the least murmur at this bargain in all the sessions of the parliament which sat after, until it fell out to some men's purposes to reproach the chancellor: and then they charged him "with advising the sale of Dunkirk, and that the very artillery, ammunition, and stores amounted to a greater value than the king received for the whole;" when upon an estimate that had been [taken] of all those, they were not esteemed to be more worth than twenty thousand pounds sterling; and the consideration of those, when the king's commissioners insisted upon their being all shipped for England, and the necessity of keeping them upon the place were they were, had prevailed with M. D'Estrades to consent to that sum of five hundred thousand pistoles. But whether the bargain was ill or well made, there could be no fault imputed to the chancellor, who had no more to do in the transaction than is before set down, the whole matter having been so long deliberated and so fully debated. Nor did he ever before, or in, or after the transaction, receive the value of half a crown for reward or present, or any other consideration relating to that affair: and the treatment he received after his coming into France was evidence enough, that the king never thought himself beholden to him.

467 A little before this time, the queen mother returned again for England, having disbursed a great sum of money in making a noble addition to her palace of Somerset-house. With the queen there came over a youth of about ten or a dozen years of age, who was called by the name of Mr. Crofts, because the lord Crofts had been trusted to take care of his breeding; but he was generally thought to be the king's son, begotten upon a private Welch woman of no good fame, but handsome, who had

transported herself to the Hague, when the king was first there, with a design to obtain that honour, which a groom of the bedchamber willingly preferred her to; and there it was this boy was born. The mother lived afterwards for some years in France in the king's sight, and at last lost his majesty's favour: yet the king desired to have the son delivered to him, that he might take care of his education, which she would not consent to. At last the lord Crofts got him into his charge; and the mother dying at Paris, he had the sole tuition of him, and took care for the breeding him suitable to the quality of a very good gentleman. And the queen after some years came to know of it, and frequently had him brought to her, and used him with much grace; and upon the king's desire brought him with her from Paris into England, when he was about twelve years of age, very handsome, and performed those exercises gracefully which youths of that age used to learn in France. The king received him with extraordinary fondness, and was willing that every body should believe him to be his son, though he did not yet make any declaration that he looked upon him as such, otherwise than by his kindness and familiarity towards him. He assigned a liberal maintenance for him; but took not that care for a strict breeding of [him] as his age required.

- 468 The general, during the time of his command in Scotland, had acquaintance with a lady of much honour there, the countess of Weemes, who had been before the wife of the earl of Buccleugh, and by him had one only daughter, who inherited his very great estate and title, and was called the countess of Buccleugh, a child of eight or ten years of age. All men believed, that the general's purpose was to get this lady for his own son, a [match] suitable enough: but the time being now changed, the lord Lautherdale, being a good courtier, thought his countrywoman might be much better married, if she

were given to the king for this youth, towards whom he expressed so much fondness, those kinds of extractions carrying little disadvantage with them in Scotland; and the general, whatever thoughts he had before, would not be so ill a courtier as not to advance such a proposition. The lady was already in possession of the greatest fortune in Scotland, which would have a fair addition upon the death of her mother.

469 The king liked the motion well; and so the mother was sent to, to bring up her daughter to London, they being then both in Scotland. And when they came, the king trusted the earl of Lautherdale principally to treat that affair with the mother, who had rather have been referred to any other body, having indeed some just exceptions. They were both yet under the years of consent; but that time drawing on, such a contract was drawn up as had been first proposed to the king, which was, "that the whole estate, for want of issue by the young lady, or by her death, should be devolved upon the young man who was to marry her, and his heirs for ever; and that this should be settled by act of parliament in Scotland." Matters being drawn to this length, and writings being to be prepared, it was now necessary that this young gentleman must have a name, and the Scots advocate had prepared a draught, in which he was styled the king's natural son: and the king was every day pressed by the great lady, and those young men who knew the customs of France, to create him a nobleman of England; and was indeed very willing to be advised to that purpose.

470 Till this time, this whole matter was treated in secret amongst the Scots: but now the king thought fit to consult it with others; and telling the chancellor of all that had passed, shewed him the draught prepared by the Scots advocate, and asked him "what he thought of it," and likewise implied, "that he thought fit to give him



some title of honour." After he had read it over, he told his majesty, "that he need not give him any other title of honour than he would enjoy by his marriage, by which he would by the law of Scotland be called earl of Buccleugh, which would be title enough; and he desired his majesty to pardon him, if he found fault with and disliked the title they had given him who prepared that draught, wherein they had presumed to style him the king's natural son, which was never, at least in many ages, used in England, and would have an ill sound in England with all his people, who thought that those unlawful acts ought to be concealed, and not published and justified. That France indeed had, with inconvenience enough to the crown, raised some families of those births; but it was always from women of great quality, and who had never been tainted with any other familiarity. And that there was another circumstance required in Spain, which his majesty should do well to observe in this case, if he had taken a resolution in the main; which was, that the king took care for the good education of that child whom he believed to be his, but never publicly owned or declared him to be such, till he had given some notable evidence of his inheriting or having acquired such virtues and qualities, as made him in the eyes of all men worthy of such a descent. That this gentleman was yet young, and not yet to be judged of: and therefore if he were for the present married to this young lady, and assumed her title, as he must do, his majesty might defer for some years making any such declaration; which he might do when he would, and which at present would be as unpopular an action in the hearts of his subjects as he could commit."

471 Though the king did not seem to concur in all that was said, he did not appear at all offended, and only asked him, "whether he had not conferred with the queen his mother upon that subject." When he assured

him, "he had not, nor with any other person, and though he had heard some general discourse of his majesty's purpose to make that marriage, he had never heard either of the other particulars mentioned;" the king said, "he had reason to ask the question, because many of those things which he had said had been spoken to him by the queen his mother, who was entirely of his opinion, which she used not to be;" and concluded, "that he would confer with them together," seeming for the present to be more moved and doubtful in the matter of the declaration, than in the other of the creation; and said, "there was no reason, since she brought all the estate, that she should receive no addition by her husband." The queen afterwards took an occasion to speak at large to the chancellor of it with much warmth, and manifestation that she did not like it. But the king spake with neither of them afterwards upon it, but signed the declaration, and created him to be duke of Monmouth; very few persons dissuading it, and the lady employing all her credit to bring it to pass: and the earl of Bristol (who in those difficult cases was usually consulted) pressed it as the only way to make the king's friendship valuable.

<sup>472</sup> Since the earl of Bristol is mentioned upon this occasion, it will not be unseasonable to give him the next part in this relation. Though he had left no way unattempted to render himself gracious to the king, by saying and doing all that might be acceptable unto him, and contriving such meetings and jollities as he was pleased with; and though his majesty had been several ways very bountiful to him, and had particularly given him at one time ten thousand pounds in money, with which he had purchased Wimbleton of the queen, and had given him Ashdown-forest and other lands in Sussex: yet he found he had not that degree of favour and interest in the king's affections, as he desired, or desired that other people should think he had. The change of his religion

kept him from being admitted to the council, or to any employment of moment. And whereas he made no doubt of drawing the whole dependance of the Roman catholics upon himself, and to have the disposal of that interest, and to that purpose had the Jesuits firm to him; he found that he had no kind of credit with them, nor was admitted by them to their most secret consultations, and that the fathers of the society had more enemies than friends amongst the catholics.

473 His estate had been sold and settled by his own consent, upon the marriage of his eldest son twice to great fortunes: so that when he returned from beyond the seas, he could not return to his estate as others did, and had little more to subsist upon than the king's bounty; and that was not poured out upon him in the measure he wished, though few persons tasted more of it. He was in his nature very covetous, and ready to embrace all ways that were offered to get money, whether honourable or no, for he had not a great power over himself, and could not bear want, which he could hardly avoid, for he was nothing provident in his expenses, when he had any temptation from his ambition or vanity. Besides, his appetite to play and gaming, in which he had no skill, and by which he had all his life spent whatever he could get, was not at all abated. He spent as much money at Wimbleton in building and gardening, as the land was worth.

474 By all these means he found himself in straits, which he could neither endure nor get from, and which transported him to that degree, that he resolved to treat the king in another manner than he had ever yet presumed to do. And having asked somewhat of him that his majesty did not think fit to grant, he told him, "he knew well the cause of his withdrawing his favour from him; that it proceeded only from the chancellor, who governed him and managed all his affairs, whilst himself spent his time only in pleasures and debauchery:" and in this passion

upbraided him with many excesses, to which no man had contributed more than he had done. He said many truths which ought to have been more modestly and decently mentioned, and all this in the presence of the lord Aubigny, who was as much surprised as the king; and concluded, "that if he did not [give him satisfaction] within such a time," (the time allowed did not exceed four and twenty hours,) "he would do somewhat that would awaken him out of his slumber, and make him look better to his own business;" and added many threats against the chancellor. The king stood all this time in such confusion, that though he gave him more sharp words than were natural to him, he had not that presentness of mind (as he afterwards accused himself) at he ought to have had; and said, "he ought presently to have called for the guard," it being in his own closet, "and sent him to the Tower."

- 475 The court and the town was full of the discourse that the earl of Bristol would accuse the chancellor of high treason, who knew nothing of what had passed with the king. And it seems when the time was past that he prescribed to the king to give him satisfaction, he came one morning to the house of peers with a paper in his hand; and told the lords, that he could not but observe, that after so glorious a return with which God had blessed the king and the nation, so that all the world had expected, that the prosperity of the kingdom would have far exceeded the misery and adversity that it had for many years endured; and after the parliament had contributed more towards it, than ever parliament had done: notwithstanding all which, it was evident to all men, and lamented by those who wished well to his majesty, that his affairs grew every day worse and worse; the king himself lost much of his honour, and the affection he had in the hearts of the people. That for his part he looked upon it with as much sadness as any man, and had made inquiry as well

as he could from whence this great misfortune, which every body was sensible of, could proceed; and that he was satisfied in his own conscience, that it proceeded principally from the power and credit and sole credit of the chancellor: and therefore he was resolved, for the good of his country, to accuse the lord chancellor of high treason; which he had done in the paper which he desired might be read, all written with his own hand, to which he subscribed his name."

476 The paper contained many articles, which he called Articles of High Treason and other Misdemeanors; amongst which one was, "that he had persuaded the king to send a gentleman (a creature of his own) to Rome with letters to the pope, to give a cardinal's cap to the lord Aubigny, who was almoner to the queen." The rest contained his assuming to himself the government of all public affairs, which he had administered unskilfully, corruptly, and traitorously; which he was ready to prove."

477 The chancellor, without any trouble in his countenance, told the lords, "that he had had the honour heretofore to have so much the good opinion and friendship of that lord, that he durst appeal to his own conscience, that he did not himself believe one of those articles to be true, and knew the contrary of most of them. And he was glad to find that he thought it so high a crime to send to Rome, and to desire a cardinal's cap for a catholic lord, who had been always bred from his cradle in that faith: but he did assure them, that that gentleman was only sent by the queen to the pope, upon an affair that she thought herself obliged to comply with him in, and in hope to do some good office to Portugal; and that the king had neither writ to the pope, nor to any other person in Rome." He spake at large to most of the articles, to shew the impossibility of their being true, and that they reflected more upon the king's honour than upon

his; and concluded, "that he was sorry that lord had not been better advised, for he did believe that though all that was alleged in the articles should be true, they would not all amount to high treason, upon which he desired the judges might be required to deliver their opinion; the which the lords ordered the judges to do." It was moved by one of the lords, "that the copy of the articles might be sent to the king, because he was mentioned so presumptuously in them;" which was likewise agreed; and the articles were delivered to the lord chamberlain to present to the king.

478 The chancellor had promised that day to dine in White-hall, but would not presume to go thither till he had sent to the king, not thinking it fit to go into his court, whilst he lay under an accusation of high treason, without his leave. His majesty sent him word, "that he should dine where he had appointed, and as soon as he had dined that he should attend him." Then his majesty told him and the lord treasurer all that had passed between the earl of Bristol and him in the presence of the lord Aubigny; and in the relation of it expressed great indignation, and was angry with himself, "that he had not immediately sent him to the Tower, which," he said, "he would do as soon as he could apprehend him." He used the chancellor with much grace, and told him, "that the earl of Bristol had not treated him so ill as he had done his majesty; and that his articles were more to his dishonour, and reflected more upon him, for which he would have justice."

479 His majesty commanded the lord chamberlain to return his thanks to the house, "for the respect they had shewed to him in sending those articles to him;" and to let them know, "that he looked upon them as a libel against himself more than a charge against the chancellor, who upon his knowledge was innocent in all the particulars charged upon him;" which report the lord chamberlain made the next morning to the house; and at the same time the

judges declared their opinion unanimously, "that the whole charge contained nothing of treason though it were all true." Upon which the earl of Bristol, especially upon what the lord chamberlain had reported from the king, appeared in great confusion, and lamented his condition, "that he, for endeavouring to serve his country upon the impulsion of his conscience, was discountenanced, and threatened with the anger and displeasure of his prince; whilst his adversary kept his place in the house, and had the judges so much at his devotion that they would not certify against him." The chancellor moved the house, "that a short day might be given to the earl, to bring in his evidence to prove the several matters of his charge; otherwise that he might have such reparation, as was in their judgments proportionable to the indignity." The earl said, "he should not fail to produce witnesses to prove all he had alleged, and more: but that he could not appoint a time when he could be ready for a hearing, because many of his most important witnesses were beyond the seas, some at Paris, and others in other places; and that he must examine the duke of Ormond, who was lieutenant in Ireland, and the earl of Lautherdale, who was then in Scotland, and must desire commissions to that purpose."

- 480 But from that day he made no further instance: and understanding that the king had given warrants to a sergeant at arms to apprehend him, he concealed himself in several places for the space of near two years; sending sometimes letters and petitions by his wife to the king, who would not receive them. But in the end his majesty was prevailed with by the lady and sir Harry Bennet to see him in private; but would not admit him to come to the court, nor repeal his warrants for his apprehension: so that he appeared not publicly till the chancellor's misfortune; and then he came to the court and to the parliament in great triumph, and shewed a more impotent

malice than was expected from his generosity and understanding.

481 We shall in the next place take a view of Scotland, whither we left Middleton sent the king's commissioner, who performed his part with wonderful dexterity and conduct, and with more success than some of his countrymen were pleased with. We have remembered before the debate upon his instructions, and the earnest advice and caution given by Lautherdale against any hasty attempt to make alteration in the matters of the church, which was at last left to the discretion of the commissioner, to proceed in such a manner, and at such a time, as he found most convenient. As soon as he came thither, he found himself received with as universal an exclamation, and the king's authority as cheerfully submitted to, as can be imagined or could be wished; and such a consent to every thing he proposed, that he made no question but any thing his majesty required would find an entire obedience. The earl of Glencarne, who was chancellor, and the earl of Rothes, and all the nobility of any interest or credit, were not only faithful to the king, but fast friends to Middleton, and magnified his conduct in all their letters.

482 The earl of Crawford alone, who was treasurer, which is an office that cannot be unattended by a great faction in that kingdom, retained still his rigid affection for the presbytery, when the ministers themselves grew much less rigid, and were even ashamed of the many follies and madneses they had committed. But the earl of Crawford did all he could to raise their spirits, and to keep them firm to the kirk. In all other particulars he was full of devotion to the king, being entirely of the faction of Hamilton, and nearly allied to it; and when the king was in Scotland had served him signally, and had then been made by him high treasurer of that kingdom; and upon Cromwell's prevailing and conjunction with



Argyle, was as odious as any man to them both, and had for many years been prisoner in England till the time of the king's return. There was always a great friendship between him and Lautherdale; the former being a man of much the greater interest, and of unquestionable courage; the other excelling him in all the faculties which are necessary to business, and a master in dissimulation.

- 483 Middleton, and the lords who went with him, and the general, (upon whose advice the king depended as much in the business of Scotland,) were all earnest with his majesty to remove the earl of Crawford from that great office, which would enable him to do mischief. But the king's good-nature prevailed over him, though he knew him as well as they did: and he thought it too hardhearted a thing to remove a man, whom he found a prisoner for his service, from an office he had formerly conferred upon him for his merit, and which he had not forfeited by any miscarriage. And it may be it was some argument to him of his sincerity, that when others, who to his majesty's own knowledge were as rigid presbyterians as he, were now very frank in renouncing and disclaiming all obligations from it, he, of all the nobility, was the only man who still adhered to it, when it was evident to him that he should upon the matter be undone by it. However, the king sent him down with the rest into Scotland, being confident that he would do nothing to disserve him, as in truth he never did; and that, when the business of the church came to be agitated, if he did continue still refractory, he would take the staff from him, and resolved to confer it upon Middleton: who, though all things were very fair between him and Lautherdale, to whom all his despatches must be addressed, yet depended more upon those of the English council, to whom the king had required the secretary to communicate all that he received from the commissioner, and all the despatches

which he should make to him. And by this means no orders were sent from the king which restrained him from proceeding in the matter of the church according to discretion, as he was appointed by his instructions; though Lautherdale did not dissemble, when letters came from Scotland “of the good posture the king’s affairs were in there, and that any thing might be brought to pass that he desired,” to receive other letters to which he gave more credit; and was still as solicitous that nothing might be attempted with reference to the kirk.

484 As soon as the parliament was convened at Edinburgh, and the commissioner found the temper of them to be such as he could wish, the marquis of Argyle (who had been sent by sea from the Tower of London to Leith) was brought to his trial upon many articles of treason and murder; wherein all his confederacies with Cromwell were laid open, and much insisted upon to prove his being privy to the resolution of taking the king’s life, and advising it: and though there was great reason to suspect it, and most men believed it, the proofs were not clear enough to convict him. But then the evidence was so full and clear of so many horrid murders committed by his order upon persons in his displeasure, and his immediate possessing himself of their estates, and other monstrous and unheard of acts of oppression; that the parliament condemned him to be hanged upon a gallows of an unusual height, and in or near the place where he had caused the marquis of Mountrose to be formerly executed; all which was performed the same day with the universal joy of the people; the unfortunate person himself shewing more resolution and courage than was expected from him, and expressing much affection and zeal for the covenant, for which he desired all men should believe he was put to death. There was likewise one seditious preacher, Gilaspy, who had been a notorious and malicious rebel against the last and the present king, underwent the same trial and

judgment, with the same faith in the covenant, and without show of repentance. And it was much wondered at, that no more of that tribe, which had kindled the fire that had almost burned two kingdoms, and never had endeavoured to extinguish it, were ever brought to justice; and that the lives of two men should be thought a sufficient sacrifice for that kingdom to offer for all the mischief it had done.

485 When this work was done, the parliament without hesitation repealed all those acts prejudicial to the crown and the royal dignity, which had been made since the beginning of the rebellion, and upon which all the rebellions had been founded; and branded their beloved covenant with all the reproaches it deserved, and this even with the consent and approbation of the general assembly of the kirk. By all which the obstructions were removed; and it was now in the power of the king to make bishops as heretofore, and to settle the church in the same government to which it had formerly been subject. But the commissioner thought not this enough; and apprehended that the king might yet be persuaded, though there was no such appearance, “that the people were against it, and that it would be better to defer it:” and therefore the parliament prepared a petition to the king, highly aggravating the wickedness of the former time in destroying episcopacy, without which they could not have brought their wicked devices to pass; and therefore they were humble suitors to his majesty, “that he would make choice of such grave divines, as he thought fit to be consecrated bishops, for all the vacant sees,” they being at that time all vacant, there being not one bishop of the nation alive.

486 And the commissioner having declared that he meant to prorogue the parliament, they appointed a draught of an oath or subscription to be prepared against the next session, whereby every man, who was possessed of a church

or any other ecclesiastical promotion in that kingdom, should be bound to renounce the covenant upon the penalty of being deprived; intimating likewise, that they resolved, at the next meeting, "that no man should be capable of holding any office, or of being a privy counsellor, who would not formally subscribe the same."

487 They settled a standing militia of forty thousand men, to be always ready to march upon the king's orders; and raised two good troops of horse, and provided for the payment of them; and granted such a sum of money to the king, as could be reasonably expected from so poor and harassed a country, and which would serve the defraying the necessary expenses thereof. And all this being done, and the prorogation made, the commissioner and some of the other lords came to London to kiss the king's hand, and to receive his further directions, having so fully despatched all his former orders. They brought likewise with them some other propositions, which will be mentioned anon.

488 The king received the commissioner with open arms, and was very well pleased with all that he had done; and nobody seemed to magnify it more than Lautherdale, who was least satisfied with it. Nor could he now longer oppose the making of bishops there: so having presented the names of such persons to the king who were thought fit to be consecrated bishops, whereof some had been with his majesty abroad, they were all sent for to London; and such of them who had not before received their ordination from a bishop, but from the presbytery in Scotland, whereof the archbishop of St. Andrew's was one, first received orders of deacon and priest from the bishop of London, and were afterwards consecrated in the usual form by the bishops who were then near the town, and made so great a feast as if it had been at the charge of their country.

489 The commissioner, the chancellor, the earl of Rothes and others, with the lord Lautherdale, were deputed by

the parliament to be humble suitors to the king; “since they had performed on their part all that was of the duty of good subjects, and were ready to give any other testimony of their obedience that his majesty would require; and since the whole kingdom was entirely at his devotion, and in such a posture that they were able as well as willing to preserve the peace thereof, and to suppress any seditious party that should attempt any disturbance; that his majesty would now remove the English garrisons from thence, and permit the fortifications and works, which had been erected at a vast charge, to be demolished, that there might remain no monuments of the slavery they had undergone.” And this they demanded as in justice due to them, “since there were few men now alive, none in the least power, who had contributed to the ills which had been committed; and all the men of power had undergone for ten or a dozen years as great oppression as could be put upon them, because they would not renounce their fidelity to the king: and since it had pleased God to restore his majesty, they hoped he would [not] continue those yokes and shackles upon them, which had been prepared and put upon them to keep them from returning to their allegiance.”

- 490 This was proposed in the presence of those of the English council, who had been formally admitted to be of the council of Scotland, and continued to meet upon that affair. The Scots lords enlarged with much warmth “upon the intolerable oppression that nation had undergone, on the poverty they still suffered, and the impossibility of being able to bear any part of the charge, and the jealousy that it would keep up between the nations, which could not be to the king’s profit and convenience.” They had privately spoken before with the king upon it, and had prevailed with him to think what they desired had reason and justice in it; and the English lords could not upon the sudden, and without conference together,

resolve what was fit for them to say: so that they desired, without expressing any inclination in the matter, "that the debate might be put off to another day;" which the Scots took very ill, as if the very deferring it were an argument that they thought it might be denied. But when they saw they would not presently speak to it, they were content that another day should be appointed for the consideration of it: and they afterwards desired the king, "that he would call the committee of the English council, who used to attend him in the most secret affairs, to consult what was to be done." Nobody could deny but that the Scots had reason to demand it. And they who thought it a bridle fit to keep in their mouths, to restrain them from future rebellions which they might be inclined to, could not easily resolve what answer should be given to them in the negative. And they who thought the demand to be so just and reasonable, and so much for the king's benefit and advantage, that it ought to be granted, did believe likewise that it was a thing so capable of censure and reproach, in regard of the general prejudice which the English have against that people, that no particular person was able to bear the odium of the advice; nor that the king himself should take the resolution upon himself without very mature deliberation.

491 That which advanced the proposition as fit to be granted, was the charge of maintaining those forces; which that kingdom was so incapable of bearing, that Middleton and Glencarne (whose duties and entire devotion to the king were above all exception or suspicion) declared not only to the king, but to those of the lords with whom they would confer freely, "that if the king thought it necessary to keep that people still there, he must send more forces of horse and foot thither; otherwise they were not strong enough to subdue the whole kingdom, but would as soon as they stirred out of their garrisons be knocked in the head; nor would the country

pay any thing towards their support, but what should be extorted by force: so that his majesty would not be thought to possess that kingdom in peace, which otherwise he would unquestionably do."

492 And this consideration was improved by the reflection upon the body of men of which those forces consisted, which was a parcel of the worst affected men to the king of the whole army, and which the general had therefore left in Scotland, when he marched into England under the command of major general Morgan, (who was worthy of any trust,) because he was not sure enough of their fidelity to take them with him, yet [thought them] fit enough to be left to restrain the Scots from any sudden insurrection. But now they saw all their model brought to confusion, they were not so much above temptation, but that they might, especially if they were drawn together, concur in any desperate design with a discontented party in Scotland, or with their brethren of the disbanded army of England, who at that season had rebellious resolutions in the north. And that which was of no small importance, there was at this very time an opportunity to transport all those forces (the very disbanding whereof would not be without danger for the reasons aforesaid) to Portugal, in compliance with the king's obligation upon his marriage.

493 On the contrary, it was very notorious that the people generally throughout England, of what quality soever, a few London presbyterians excepted, were marvellously pleased to see the Scots so admirably chastised and yoked; nor had Cromwell ever done an act that more reconciled the affections of the English to him, than his most rigorous treatment of that nation; and they never contributed money so willingly towards any of his designs, as for the erecting those forts in the several quarters of the kingdom; which, with a little addition of force, they had good experience would suffice to keep it from giving

any disturbance to their neighbours. And the demolishing all those structures in one instant, and leaving an unquiet and an impoverished people to their own inclinations, could not be grateful.

494 The king had, during the time that he resided in Scotland before his march to Worcester, contracted, and had brought with him from thence, a perfect detestation of their kirk and presbyterian government, and a great prejudice against the whole family of Argyle and some other persons. But he was exceedingly reconciled to the nation; and besides the esteem he had of the persons of very many noblemen, he did really believe the burgesses and common people to be as heartily affected to him, and as much at his disposal, as any subjects he had. And the lord Lautherdale cultivated this gracious credulity with so much diligence, that he assured the king, “that he might depend upon the whole Scots nation as upon one man, to be employed as one man in his service and commands of what kind soever, and against what enemy soever.” His majesty upon the debate of this business declared, “that he did not only think it good husbandry in respect of the expense, and good policy, that he might keep Scotland entirely at his devotion, whilst Ireland remained in this confusion, and England itself was threatened by such factions in religion, to gratify them in what they desired; but that he held himself obliged in honour, justice, and conscience, to send all the forces out of that kingdom, and to deface the monuments of that time: and that there would be no more to be consulted, but what to do with those forces,” (which was quickly resolved, that they should be all sent for Portugal; and order was presently given for ships upon which they were to be embarked,) “and then to consider in what method the other should be done.”

495 The Scots were very well [satisfied] with the king's resolution upon the main, but troubled at somewhat that



the English lords proposed for the way, "that the privy-council first, and then the parliament, should be informed of his majesty's intentions: which," they said, "would be against the honour and the interest and the right of Scotland, which never submitted any of their concernments to be debated at the council-board of England; and the innovation would be no less in remitting it to the parliament, which had no pretence of jurisdiction over them." To both which they were answered, "that the withdrawing the English forces, and demolishing the English fortifications, concerned England no less than the other kingdom; and that his majesty did not intend it should be proposed to them, as a thing of which he made any doubt or required their advice, but only as a matter of fact, which would prevent all murmurings or censures, which otherwise might arise." The English lords desired, "that the king's orders might be very positive, and that the commissioner might see them executed, for the utter demolishing all those fortifications which the English were to abandon, that they might not be continued for the entertainment of new garrisons of the natives, which would administer matter of new jealousies:" all which they cheerfully consented to, well knowing that they might afterwards perform what they found convenient; and many did since believe, that there remains enough in some of the places to be shelter to a rebellion hereafter.

496 The king appointed the chancellor to make a relation, at a conference between the two houses of parliament, "of the good posture his majesty's affairs of Scotland stood in; of their having repealed all those ill laws which had been made by the advantage of the rebellion, and all that concerned the church; upon which that his majesty forthwith resolved to settle bishops in that kingdom, which appeared very unanimously devoted to his service: and that the king could not but communicate this good

news to them, which he knew would give them cause of rejoicing." And then he told them, "that the Scots parliament, in regard of the peace and quiet that they enjoyed, without the least apprehension of trouble from abroad or at home, had desired the king, that the English forces might be withdrawn and all the fortifications razed; and that those forces might be convenient, if his majesty thought fit, to be transported to Portugal;" without discovering what his majesty had resolved to do, or asking any opinion from them, which however they might have given if they pleased. The effect was, that both houses sent their humble thanks to the king "for his having vouchsafed to let them know the good condition of Scotland, of which they wished his majesty much joy; and hoped his other dominions would in a short time be in the same tranquillity:" without taking any notice of withdrawing the garrisons. And so that affair ended.

497 During this agitation in London, it was discernible enough that there were great jealousies between the Scots lords. The commissioner and the other had cause to believe, that the king gave much more credit to Lauderdale than to them, and looked upon him as a man of great interest in that country, when they knew he had none, being neither in his quality or fortune amongst those who were esteemed men of power and dependance. And he thought them linked in a faction against him, to lessen the value the king had of him, which indeed was the foundation of all his credit and interest. What countenance soever he set upon it, he was sensibly afflicted at the downfall of the presbytery, and that Middleton had brought that to pass without any difficulty, (as he had before told the king he would,) which he had assured his majesty was impossible to be effected but in long time and by many stratagems.

498 The marquis of Argyle had been a man universally odious to the whole nation, some ministers and preachers

excepted: and there had been always thought to have been an implacable animosity from Lautherdale towards him; and after the king's return no man had appeared more against him, nor more insisted upon his not being admitted to his majesty's presence, or for his being sent into Scotland to be tried. Yet after all this it was discovered, that he had interposed all he could with his majesty to save him, and employed all his interest in Scotland to the same purpose. And the marquis was no sooner executed, but the earl of Lautherdale had prevailed with the king immediately to give his son, the lord Lorne, (who had remained in London to solicit on his father's behalf,) leave to kiss his hand, and to create him earl of Argyle, and to confer on him the office of general justice in the Highlands, by which his father had been qualified to do most of the wickednesses he had committed; all which the parliament of Scotland should [have treated as] the most sensible affront to them that they could undergo.

499 It was well known that this young man, who was captain of the king's guard when he was in Scotland, had treated his majesty with that rudeness and barbarity, that he was much more odious to him than his father; and in all the letters which Lautherdale had found opportunity to write, whilst he was a prisoner in England, to the king when he was beyond the seas, he inveighed equally against the son as the father, and never gave him any other title than, "That Toad's Bird:" so that nobody could imagine from whence this change could proceed, but from a design to preserve an interest in the presbyterian party against the time he should have occasion to use them.

500 Then there were circumstances in this grace of the king to the lord Lorne, that exceeded all men's comprehension: for his majesty caused all the estate of the marquis of Argyle, which did not appear in any degree so considerable as it was generally believed to have been, to be seized upon

as forfeited to him ; and then would grant it to the son so absolutely, that neither the owners should recover what had been injuriously and violently taken from them for their loyalty to the king, nor the creditors receive satisfaction for the just debts which were due to them, and which must have been satisfied if the king had retained the forfeiture. But upon the application of the commissioner and the other lords, that the king would hear all persons concerned, there was some mitigation in those particulars, notwithstanding all the opposition which Lautherdale did barefaced make on the behalf of the lord Lorne, and which the other bore with great indignation : which he knew very well, and did believe that the oath and subscription, which he well knew they had contrived for the next session of parliament, was levelled at him ; that not taking it, as they did not believe he would do, the secretary of Scotland's place might become void, which they had much rather should have been in any man's hand than in his. And therefore he took all occasions to profess and declare, besides his constant raillery against the presbytery, "that if they should require him to subscribe that he is a Turk, he would do it before he would lose his office."

501 The matter of these offences being most in private, and so not publicly taken notice of, they made a fair show and kept good quarter towards each other. And the king consenting to all that the commissioner proposed with reference to the public, being indeed abundantly satisfied with his comportment, and at parting promising to give him the office of treasurer, when by Crawford's refusing to subscribe it should become void ; they, with all their bishops, returned again for Scotland with incurable jealousy of Lautherdale, who remained waiting upon the king, and resolved to cross all their designs he could, and quietly to expect a better opportunity to undo what he could not for the present prevent.

502 It is time now to return to the parliament of England, which, according to the time of the prorogation, met again in March towards the entrance into the year 1664: when at their first meeting the king informed them at large of the insurrection that had been endeavoured in the summer before in Yorkshire, which, how foolishly soever contrived, was a very great instance of the distemper of the nation; that three years after the disbanding of the army, the officers thereof should remain still so unquiet, as to hope to give any signal disturbance to the peace of the kingdom, by such a commotion as they could upon their credit raise.

503 The continual discourse of plots and insurrections had so wearied the king, that he even resolved to give no more countenance to any such informations, nor to trouble himself with inquiry into them; but to leave the peace of the kingdom against any such attempts to the vigilance of the civil magistrates, and the care of the officers of the militia, which he presumed would be sufficient to quell and suppress any ordinary fanatic design. And upon this resolution, and to avoid the reproach of the late times, of contriving plots only to commit men to prison against whom there was any prejudice, he totally neglected the first information he received of this seditious purpose. But when the intelligence was continued from several parts, and so particular for the time and place of the rendezvous, and for the seizing upon the city of York; and there was evidence that some men of estate and fortune, and who were held wary and discreet men, were engaged in it; his majesty thought it time to provide against it, and not only commended the care of it to the lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of the counties adjacent, but sent likewise several troops of his own horse to possess the city of York before the day appointed, and to attend some of the places of the rendezvous. And they came very seasonably, and surprised many upon

the very place, before their company was strong enough to make resistance. Others did make some resistance, but quickly fled and were dispersed. Many were taken, and upon their examination behaved themselves as if they were sure to be quickly rescued; for it appeared that they did believe that the insurrection would have been general throughout the kingdom, and that all the disbanded army would have been brought together at several rendezvouses.

504 All the prisons in the north were so full, that the king thought it necessary to send down four or five of the judges of the several benches of Westminster-hall to York, with a commission of oyer and terminer, to examine the whole matter. There, though the judges did not believe that they had discovered the bottom of the whole conspiracy, they found cause to condemn very many; whereof seventeen or eighteen were executed, some reprieved, and very many left in prison to be tried at the next assizes. Amongst those who were executed, the man who was most looked upon was one Rymer, of the quality of the better sort of grand-jurymen, and held a wise man, and was known to be trusted by the greatest men who had been in rebellion: and he was discovered by a person of intimate trust with him, who had heretofore the same affections with him, but would venture no more. He was a sullen man, and used few words to excuse himself, and none to hurt any body else; though he was thought to know much, and that having a good estate he would never have embarked in a design that had no probability of success. Some of the prisoners declared, "that they were assured by those who engaged them, that such and such great men would appear at the rendezvous or soon after." But that was not thought a sufficient ground to trouble any man, though some of them were very liable to suspicion; since in all combinations of that kind, it is a most usual artifice to work upon

weak men, by persuading them that other men, of whom they have great esteem, are engaged in it, who in truth know nothing of it.

505 The judges were returned from York little time before the parliament met; and therefore the king thought it fit to awaken them to much vigilance, by informing them with what secrecy that conspiracy had been carried. And his majesty assured them, “that he was not yet at the bottom of that business; and that it appeared manifestly, that this conspiracy was but a branch of that which he had discovered as well as he could to them about two years since, and had been then executed nearer hand, if he had not by God’s goodness come to the knowledge of some of the principal contrivers, and so secured them from doing the mischief they intended.”

506 His majesty told them, “that they would wonder (yet he said what was true) that they were now even in those parts, when they see their friends under trial and execution, still pursuing the same consultations: and it was evident that they had correspondence with desperate persons in most counties, and a standing council in London itself, from which they received their directions, and by whom they were advised to defer their last intended insurrection. But those orders served only to distract them, and came too late to prevent their destruction.” He said, “he knew more of their intrigues than they thought he did; and hoped he should shortly discover the bottom: in the mean time he desired the parliament, that they might all be as watchful to prevent, as they were to contrive their mischief.” He said, “he could not upon this occasion omit to tell them, that these desperate men in their counsels (as appeared by several examinations) had not been all of one mind in the ways of carrying on their wicked resolutions. Some would still insist upon the authority of the long parliament, of which they say they have members enough willing to meet: others have

fancied to themselves, by some computation of their own, upon some clause in the triennial bill, that this present parliament was at an end some months since; and that for want of new writs they may assemble themselves, and choose members for parliament; and that this is the best expedient to bring themselves together for their other purposes. For the long parliament," his majesty said, "that he and they together could do no more than he had done to inform and compose the minds of men; let them proceed upon that at their peril. But he thought there had been nothing done to disabuse men in respect of the triennial bill. He confessed that he had often himself read over that bill; and though there is no colour for the fancy of the determination of this parliament; yet he would not deny to them, that he had always expected that they would, and even wondered that they had not considered the wonderful clauses in that bill, which had passed in a time very uncareful for the dignity of the crown, or the security of the people." His majesty desired the speaker and the gentlemen of the house of commons, "that they would once give that triennial bill a reading in their house; and then in God's name they might do what they thought fit for him, themselves, and the whole kingdom." His majesty said, "that he needed not tell them how much he loved parliaments; never king was so much beholden to parliaments as he had been; nor did he think that the crown could ever be happy without frequent parliaments. But he wished them to assure themselves, that if he should think otherwise, he would never suffer a parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill."

507 He renewed his thanks to them "for the free supply they gave him the last session of four subsidies; yet he could not but tell them, that that supply was fallen much short of what he expected and they intended. That it would hardly be believed, yet they knew it to be true,



that very many persons, who have estates of three or four thousand pounds by the year, do not pay for these four subsidies sixteen pounds: so that whereas they intended and declared, that they should be collected according to former precedents, they do not now arise to half the proportion they did in the time of queen Elizabeth; and yet sure the crown wants more now than it did then, and the subject is at least as well able to give." His majesty said, "the truth is, by the license of the late ill time, and ill humour of this, too many of the people, and even of those who make fair professions, believe it to be no sin to defraud the crown of any thing that is due to it. That they no sooner gave him tonnage and poundage, than men were devising all the means they could to steal custom; nor could the farmers be so vigilant for the collection, as others were to steal the duties. They gave him the excise, which all people abroad believed to be the most insensible imposition that can be laid upon a people: what conspiracies and combinations were entered into against it by the brewers, who he was sure did not bear the burden themselves, even to bring that revenue to nothing, they would hear in Westminster-hall. They had given him the chimney-money, which they had reason to believe was a growing revenue, for men build at least fast enough; and they would therefore wonder, that it was already declined, and that this half year brings in less than the former did." He desired them therefore, "that they would review that bill; and since he was sure that they would have him receive whatsoever they gave, that he might have the collecting and husbanding of it by his own officers, and then he doubted not but to improve that receipt, and he would be cozened as little as he could."

508 His majesty concluded with "desiring and conjuring them to keep a very good correspondence together, that it might not be in the power of any seditious or factious spirits to make them jealous of each other, or either of

them jealous of him, till they see him pretend one thing and do another, which he was sure they had never yet done." He assured them, "it should be in nobody's power to make him jealous of them." And so desired them, "that they would despatch what they found necessary, that they might be ready for a session within two months or thereabout, because the season of the year would invite them all to take the country air."

509 It was very happy for his majesty, that he did cut out their work to their hand, and asked no money of them, and limited them a short time to continue together. It made their counsels very unanimous: and though they raised no new taxes and impositions upon the people, they made what they had before raised much more valuable to the king than it was before, by passing other acts and declarations for the explaining many things, and the better collecting the money they had formerly given; which much added to his majesty's profit without grieving the people, who were rather gratified in the remedies which were provided against frauds and cozenage.

510 The parliament had sat but very little more than ten days, when they presented a bill to his majesty for the repeal of the triennial bill, which he had recommended to them; and which was so grateful to him, that he came in person to the house to pass it and to thank them; and he told them, "that every good Englishman would thank them for it; for it could only have served to discredit parliaments, to make the crown jealous of parliaments and parliaments of the crown, and persuaded neighbour princes that England was not governed under a monarch." The truth is: it had passed in a very jealous and seditious time, when the wickedness was first in hatching, that ripened afterwards to a dismal perfection; and when all, who were sworn never to consent to the disherison of the crown, thought only of preserving their own inheritance which they had gotten, or improving it at the expense of

the crown; and made it manifest enough, that it should wither, at least while it stood upon the head of that king; for at that time the conspiracy went no further, that is amongst those who had then credit to promote its passage, though they were weak men who thought it could rest there.

511 As they made this entrance, so they were wholly intent upon matters of moment, and despatched all they intended to do within the two months, in which the king desired they would be ready for a prorogation. And as there was greater order and unanimity in their debates, so they despatched more business of public importance and consequence, than any other parliament had done in twice the time: for, besides the repeal of the odious bill before mentioned, they made a very good additional bill for the chimney-money, which made that revenue much more considerable; and they passed likewise another bill against the frequenting of conventicles, which was looked upon as the greatest discountenance the parliament had yet given to all the factions in religion, and if it had been vigorously executed would no doubt have produced a thorough reformation. They made likewise a very good act, and very necessary for a time of such corruption, that had contracted new ways of dishonesty and villainy that former times had not thought of, when many unworthy and cowardly masters of ships and seamen had been contented to be robbed, and to [suffer] all their owners' goods to be taken, upon an allowance made to them by the pirates; for the discovery and punishment whereof the law had not enough provided. They therefore presented a bill to the king, "for the discovery and punishment of all such treacherous and infamous actions; and for the reward of such honest and stout seamen, as should manfully and courageously defend their owners' goods, and therein maintain the honour of the nation."

512 All this they presented to his majesty, and [it] was confirmed by his royal assent on the seventeenth of May; when his majesty, after giving such thanks to them as they deserved, told them, “he did not intend to bring them together again till the month of November, that they might enjoy the summer in the transaction of their own affairs: yet because there might some emergent occasion fall out, that might make him wish to find them together sooner, he would prorogue them only to August; and before the day they should have seasonable notice, by proclamation, not to give their attendance, except such occasion should fall out.” And so they were prorogued to a day in August, but met not till November following.

513 During this short session of parliament, they, who were very solicitous to promote a war with Holland, forgot not what they had to do; but they quickly discerned that it was not a good season to mention the giving of money, (which the king himself had forborne to mention, that the people might see one session of parliament pass without granting new impositions, which they had not yet seen,) and therefore it would be as unseasonable to speak of a war. However, they made such an approach towards it, as might make a further advance much more easy.

514 The merchants in the committee of trade much lamented the obstructions and discouragements, which they had long found in their commerce by sea with other nations, and which were not removed even by the blessed return of the king; all which they imputed to the pride and insolence of the Hollanders, “who,” they said, “observed no laws of commerce, or any conditions which themselves consented to. That by their fraud and practice the English were almost driven out of the East and West Indies, and had their trade in Turkey and in Africa much diminished. In sum, that besides many insufferable indignities offered by them to his majesty and to the crown

of England, his subjects had in few years sustained the damage of seven or eight hundred thousand pounds sterling."

515 All which with some particular instances being reported from the committee of trade to the house, they had desired an audience from his majesty, and then presented this grievance to him, and desired his majesty, "that he would give such order in it, as to his wisdom should seem fit, that might produce just and honourable satisfaction." The king, who continued firm to his former resolution, answered them, "that he would transmit the address they had presented to him to his resident at the Hague, with order that he should inform the States of it, and require satisfaction, which he hoped the States General would yield unto, rather than compel him to demand justice in another way." The answer pleased them well, nor could they wish that the prosecution should be put into a better hand than the resident's, who was a member of the house, and a man who had inflamed them more than the merchants themselves against the Dutch.

516 That resident was sir George Downing, a man of an obscure birth, and more obscure education, which he had received in part in New England: he had passed through many offices in Cromwell's army, of chaplain, scoutmaster, and other employments, and at last got a very particular credit and confidence with him, and under that countenance married a beautiful lady of a very noble extraction, which was the fate of many bold men in that presumptuous time. And when Cromwell had subdued the Dutch to that temper he wished, and had thereupon made a peace with them, he sent this man to reside as his agent with them, being a man of a proud and insolent spirit, and [who] would add to any imperious command of his somewhat of the bitterness of his own spirit.

517 And he did so fully execute his charge in all things, especially when he might manifest his animosity against

the royal party, that when the king himself had once, during his residence at Brussels, for his divertisement made a journey incognito, with not above four persons, to see Amsterdam, and from thence the towns of North Holland; Downing coming to have notice of it delivered a memorial to the States of Holland, wherein he inclosed the third Article of their treaty, by which they were obliged "not to suffer any traitor, rebel, or any other person, who was declared an enemy to the commonwealth of England, to reside or stay in their dominions;" and told them, "that Charles Stuart and the marquis of Ormond had been lately in Amsterdam, and were still in some places adjacent;" and required "that they might not be permitted to remain in any part of their dominions." Whereupon the States of Holland sent presently to the princess royal, who was then at her country house at Hounslerdike, "that if her brother were then with her or should come to her, he should forthwith depart out of their province:" and not satisfied herewith, they published an order in the Hague to the same purpose, which was sent to Amsterdam and other towns according to their custom.

518 With this rude punctuality he behaved himself during the life of Cromwell, and whilst his son retained the usurpation; but when he saw him thrown out with that contempt, and that the government was not like to be settled again till there was a resort to the old foundation, he be-thought himself how he might have a reserve of the king's favour. And the marquis of Ormond making about that time a journey incognito to the Hague, [to treat of] a marriage for his eldest son with a noble lady whose friends lived there, Downing found opportunity to have a private conference with him, and made offer of his service to the king, if his devotion might be concealed, without which it would be useless to his majesty. And for an earnest of his fidelity, he informed him of some particulars which were of moment for the king to know: amongst which

one was, “that a person, who in respect of his very honourable extraction, and the present obligations himself had to the royal family, was not suspected, gave him, as he had long done, constant intelligence of what the king did, and of many particulars which in their nature deserved to be more secret, which he had always sent to Cromwell whilst he was living; but since his death, having a resolution to serve the king, he had never dis-served him, and would hereafter give him notice of any thing that it would be necessary [for him] to be informed of with reference to England or to Holland.”

519 The marquis thought it very fit to accept of such an instrument, and promised him “to acquaint his majesty with his good affection, who he presumed would receive it graciously, and give him as much encouragement to continue it as his present condition would permit.” To which the other replied, that he knew the king’s present condition too well to expect any reward from him: but if his majesty would vouchsafe, when he should be restored, to confirm to him the office he then held of a teller in the exchequer, and continue him in this employment he then had in Holland, where he presumed he should be able to do him more service than a stranger could do, he would think himself abundantly rewarded.” Of all which when the marquis advertised the king at his return to Brussels, he had authority to assure him “of the king’s acceptance, and that all that he expected should be made good.”

520 This was the ground and reason, that when the king came to the Hague the year following, to embark for England, he received Downing so graciously, and knighted him, and left him there as his resident; which they who were near the king, and knew nothing of what had passed, wondered at as much as strangers who had observed his former behaviour. And the States themselves, who

would not at such a time of public joy do any thing that might be ingrateful to his majesty, could not forbear to lament in private, "that his majesty would depute a person to have his authority, who had never used any other dialect to persuade them to do any thing he proposed, but threats if they should not do it, and who at several times had disoblged most of their persons by his insolence." And from the time of his majesty's departure from thence, he never made those representations which men in those ministries used to do, but put the worst commentaries upon all their actions. And when he sat afterwards as a member of the house, returning still in the interval of parliament to his employment at the Hague, he took all opportunities to inveigh against their usurpations in trade; and either did or pretended to know many of their mysteries of iniquity, in opening of which he rendered himself acceptable to the house, though he was a voluminous speaker, which naturally they do not like.

521 When this province was committed to him of expostulation for the injuries sustained in several places from the Dutch, he had his wish, and used little modesty in the urging of it. They answered, "that most of the particulars of which he complained were put under oblivion by the late treaty, and that in consideration thereof they had yielded to many particulars for the benefit of the English; and that for the other particulars, they were likewise by the same treaty referred to a process in justice, of which they had yet no cause to complain: nor had there been any action pretended to be committed since the treaty was concluded," which was not many months before, "that might occasion a misunderstanding." And surely at this time when these things were urged all this was true: but he, according to the method he had been accustomed [to], insisted upon his own demands; and



frequently reproached them with their former submissions to Cromwell, and their present presumptions upon the goodness and generosity of the king.

522 It is without question, that the States General did, by the standard of their own wariness and circumspection, not suspect that the king did intend to make a war upon them. They well knew the straits and necessities in which his affairs stood, with reference to money, and to the several distempers of the nation in matters of religion, which might probably grow more dangerous if there were a foreign war; and concluded, that Downing's importunities and menaces were but the results of his own impetuosity, and that the king would not be solicitous to interrupt and part with his own peace. And therefore their own ships they sent out as they used to do, and those for the coast of Guinea better prepared and stronger than of course. Nor was the royal company less vigilant to carry on that trade, but about the same time sent a stronger fleet of merchants' ships than they had ever before done; and for their better encouragement the king lent them two of his own ships for a convoy.

523 And at this time they gave the king an advantage in point of justice, and which concerned all other nations in point of traffick and commerce. It had been begun by them in the East Indies; where they had planted themselves in great and strong towns, and had many harbours well fortified, in which they constantly maintained a great number of good and strong ships; by which they were absolute masters of those seas, and forced the neighbour kings and princes to enter into such terms of amity with them as they thought fit to require. And if they found that any advantageous trade was driven in any port by any other nation, they presently sent their ships to lie before that port, and denounced war against the prince to whom that port belonged; which being done, they published a declaration, "that it should not be lawful for

any nation whatsoever to trade in the territories of that prince with whom they then were in war." And upon this pretence they would not suffer an English ship, belonging to the East India company, to enter into a port to lade and take in a cargason of goods, that had been provided by their factors there before there was any mention or imagination of such a war, and of which there was no other instance of hostility than the very declaration. And at this time they transplanted this new prerogative to Guinea: and having, as they said, for there was no other evidence of it, a war with one of those princes, they would not suffer the English ships to enter into those harbours where they had always traded. The king received animadversion of this unheard of insolence and usurpation, and added this more just complaint to the former, and required his resident "to demand a positive renunciation of all pretence to such an odious usurpation, and a revocation of those orders which their officers had published." To this complaint and demand they deferred to make answer, till their ambassador had presented a grievance to the king.

524 One of those ships of war, which the king had lent to the royal company for the convoy of their fleet to Guinea, had in the voyage thither assaulted and taken a fort belonging to the Dutch near Cape Verde; which was of more incommodity to them than of benefit to the English. Of this invasion their ambassador made a loud complaint, and demanded, "that the captain might be punished severely; and in the mean time that the king would give a present order to him, the ambassador, for the redelivery of the place and all that was in it, and he would send it to his masters, who would forthwith send a ship to demand it." The king had in truth heard nothing of it; and assured the ambassador, "that the captain, if he had done any such thing, had not the least commission or authority for the doing it; and that he was sure he

was upon his way homeward, so that he might be expected speedily; and then he should be sure to undergo such punishment as the nature of his offence required, when the matter should be examined, and they should then receive full reparation." This answer, how reasonable soever, satisfied them not: nothing would serve [their] turn but a present restitution, before his majesty could be informed of the provocation or ground that had produced so unwarrantable an action. They gave present orders for the equipping a very great fleet, and the raising many land soldiers, making greater preparations for war than they had made in many years before. They likewise prepared a strong fleet for Guinea, and granted a commission (which was published in print) to the commander in chief, "to make war upon the English in those parts, and to do them all the mischief [he] could."

525 Prince Rupert, who had been heretofore with the fleet then under his command, in the beginning of the king's reign, upon the coast of Guinea, (and by the report and testimony he gave of that coast the royal company had received great encouragement,) now upon this insolent demeanour of the Dutch, and publishing the commission they had sent to their commander in chief, offered his service to the king, "to sail into those parts with such a fleet as his majesty thought fit to send, with which he made little doubt to secure trade, and abate the presumption of the Dutch." And hereupon a fleet was likewise preparing for that purpose, to be commanded by prince Rupert.

526 The parliament had before declared, when they made their address to the king against the Dutch for obstructing the trade, "that they would with their lives and fortunes assist his majesty against all oppositions whatsoever, which he should meet with in the removal of those obstructions;" which they believed would terrify, but in truth made the Dutch merry: and in some of their de-

clarations or answers to Downing's memorials, they mentioned it with too much pride and contempt. And in this posture the disputes were when the parliament met again in November, which came together for the most part without a desire either to give money or make war. And Downing, who laboured heartily to incense us and to provoke them, in all his despatches declared, "that all those insolences proceeded only from the malignity of the States of Holland, which could vent itself no further than in words; but that the States General, without whose concurrence no war could be made, abhorred the thought of it:" and there is no doubt that was true. And the Dutch ambassador, who remained at London, and was a very honest weak man, and did all the offices he could to prevent it, did not think it possible it could come to pass; "and that there might be some scuffles upon the coast of Guinea, by the direction of the West India company, of whose actions the States General took notice, but would cause justice to be done upon complaint, and not suffer the public peace to be disturbed upon their pretences." And so the king forbore to demand any supply from the parliament, because an ordinary supply would rather discredit his demands than advance them, and he could not expect an extraordinary supply but when the war was unquestionable. And the States General at this time were made a property by the States of Holland, (who had given private orders for their own concerns,) and presented an humble desire to the king by their ambassador, "that prince Rupert's fleet might stay in harbour, as theirs likewise that was prepared for Guinea should do, till some means might be found for the accommodation of all differences." Whereas before they pretended, that they would send their Guinea fleet through the Channel, convoyed by their admiral with a fleet of fifty sail; which report had before stopped prince Rupert, when he was under sail for Guinea, to wait and expect that

piece of bravery. But this address from the States General made all men believe there would be an accommodation, without so much as any hostility in Guinea.

527 But it was quickly discovered; that they were the honester men when they gave the worst words. For before the States General sent to the king to stop prince Rupert in harbour, “and that their fleets should likewise remain in their harbours,” the States of Holland, or that committee that was qualified by them, had with great privacy sent orders to De Ruyter, who was in the Mediterranean, “to make all possible haste with his fleet to go to the coast of Guinea, and not only to retake the fort near Cape Verde that the English had taken from them, but likewise to take what places he could which were in possession of the English, and to do them what damage he could in those parts:” so that they might well offer that their fleet should now remain in their harbours in Holland.

528 When De Ruyter had been sent into the Mediterranean, the pretence was, that it was against the pirates of Algiers and Tunis, who had in truth preyed very much upon the Dutch, taken very many of their ships, and had abundance of their subjects in chains. And when that fleet was sent into the Mediterranean, their ambassador had desired the king, “that his majesty’s fleet that was then in those parts might upon all occasions join with De Ruyter, when opportunity should be offered thereby to infest the Turks;” which the king consented to, and sent orders accordingly. But the Dutch had no such purpose: his business was to ransom their captives with money, and not to exact the delivery of them by force; and to make an accommodation for the time to come as well as he could. And when the English fleet was at any time in pursuit of any of the Turks’ vessels, and expected that the Dutch, by whom they must pass, would have given a little stop to their flight, which they might

easily have done; they rather assisted than obstructed their escape. And having made a very dishonourable peace with the pirates, he made haste to prosecute his orders for the coast of Guinea.

529 As soon as the king knew of this impudent affront, and that De Ruyter was in truth gone out of the Mediterranean, he thought he might justly seize upon any ships of theirs, to satisfy the damage that he could not but sustain by De Ruyter in Guinea: and so, it being the season of the year that the Dutch fleet returned with their wines from Bourdeaux, Rochelle, and other parts of France, such of them as were forced by the weather to put into the English harbours were seized upon. And the duke of York, having put himself on board with a fleet of about fifty sail, upon the report of the Dutch being come out to defend their ships, took many others, even upon their own coasts; which they chose rather to suffer, than to venture out of their ports to relieve them. However, there was not any one of all those ships suffered to be unladen, or any prejudice done to them; but they were all preserved unhurt, till notice might arrive from Guinea what De Ruyter had done there. But undoubted intelligence arrived in a very short time after, that De Ruyter had declared and begun the war upon the coast of Africa, not only by a forcible retaking the fort which had been taken from them, and which his majesty had offered to deliver, but by seizing upon several English ships in those parts, and by assaulting and taking other his majesty's forts and places, and exercising all the acts of hostility which his commission authorized [him] to do.

530 And in a very short time after, the East India company complained and informed the king, "that when their officer had demanded the redelivery of the isle of Poleroone according to the article of the late treaty, and delivered the letters and orders from the States General and States of Holland, which their ambassadors had given at London,

to the governor and captain of that island; [he], after making him stay two or three days there with his ship and the men he had brought with him, told him, that upon a better perusal of the orders which he had brought, he found that they were not sufficient; and therefore till he should receive fuller orders, he could not give up the place." And so the officer and ship, which had been sent at a great charge, [were] necessitated to return without any [other] effect than the affront and indignity to his majesty.

531 When there was now no remedy, and the war was actually made upon the king upon what provocation soever, there was nothing to be done but to resort to the parliament, which had been so earnest to enter into it. A fleet must be prepared equal to what the Dutch would infallibly make ready against the spring, and worthy of the presence of the duke of York, who was impatient to engage his own person in the conduct of it; and the king had given his promise to him that he should, when he had, God knows, no purpose that there should be a war. It was quickly discovered, that there was not the same alacrity towards a war now, after it was begun, in the parliament, as there had been when they made their vote: and they would have been glad that any expedient might have been found for a reconciliation, and that the captain might have been called in question, who first gave offence by taking the fort from the Dutch near Cape Verde, which some had pressed for when he came home, before any more mischief [was] done; and the not calling him in question made many believe, that he had done nothing without warrant or promise of protection.

532 The Dutch still disclaimed all thought or purpose of war, and seemed highly offended with their governor of Poleroone, and protested, "that the not-delivery of the place proceeded only from want of an order from the governor of Batavia, which order came the next day after

the English ship was departed: but that they had given notice of it to the English factory at Bantam, that the same or another English ship might return and receive it; and they were confident that it was then in the hand of the English." But it was now too late to expect any honourable peace, at least without making very notable preparations for a war, which [could] not be done without ready money. And whatever orders had been given for the preservation of the Dutch ships, it quickly appeared that much of them had been embezzled or disposed of, before they were brought to any judicatory, or adjudged to be prize; and there was too much cause to fear, that the rest would be disposed of to other purposes than the support of the war; though nothing was more positively spoken, than that the war would maintain itself.

533 The parliament still promised fairly, and entered upon consultation how and what money to raise. And now the king commanded the chancellor and the treasurer to meet with those members of the house of commons, with whom they had used to consult, and to whom the king had joined others upon whom he was told he might more depend, and to adjust together what sum should be proposed, and how and in what manner to propose and conduct it. It was about the month of January. And though the duke took indefatigable pains, by going himself sometimes to Portsmouth and sometimes to Chatham, to cause the ships and all provisions to be ready, that he might be at sea before the Dutch; yet let what advance could be made, as indeed there was great, nothing could be said to be done, till a great stock of ready money could be provided; and it would be long after the parliament had done their part, before ready money would be got; and therefore no more time must be lost, without taking a particular resolution.

534 The meeting of those persons the king appointed was at Worcester-house, where the chancellor and treasurer



(who were known to be averse from the war) told the rest, “that there was no more debate now to be, war or no war: it was come upon us, and we were now only to contrive the best way of carrying it on with success; which could only be done by raising a great present sum of money, that the enemy might see that we were prepared to continue it as well as to begin.” They who were most desirous of the war, as sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry, (who were in truth the men who brought it upon the nation,) with their friends, were of the opinion, “that there should not be a great sum demanded at present, but only so much as might carry out the fleet in the spring, and [that] sufficient provisions might be made for the summer service: and then, when the war was once thoroughly entered into, another and a better supply might be gotten about Michaelmas, when there was reason to hope, that some good success would dispose all men to a frank prosecution of the war.” Whereas these gentlemen had hitherto inflamed the king with an assurance, “that he could not ask more money of the parliament than they would readily give him, if he would be engaged in this war which the whole kingdom so much desired.”

- 535 The chancellor and the treasurer were of opinion, “that the house of commons could never be in a better disposition to give, than they were at present; that hereafter they might grow weary, and apt to find fault with the conduct, especially when they found the country not so well pleased with the war as they were now conceived to be: whereas, now the war was begun, and the king engaged in it as much as he could be after ten battles, and all upon their desire and their promise; they could not refuse to give any thing proposed within the compass of that reason, which all understanding men might examine and judge of. That it was evident enough, that the true ground of all the confidence the Dutch had was from

their opinion of the king's necessities and want of money, and their belief that the parliament would supply him very sparingly, and not long to continue such an expense, as they very well knew that a war at sea would require : and they would be much confirmed in this their imagination, if at the beginning they should see the parliament give him such a sum of money, as seemed to be implied by what had been said. That they therefore thought it absolutely necessary, that the king should propose as much, that is, that his friends should move for such a sum, as might upon a reasonable computation, which every man would be ready to make, and of which wise men upon experience would easily make an estimate, carry on the war for a full year ; that is, for the setting out the present fleet and paying it off upon its return, and for the setting out another fleet the next spring. If this were now done, his majesty would not be involved in importunate necessities the next winter ; but he might calmly and deliberately consult upon such further supplies, as the experience of what would be then past should suggest to be necessary : and that this would give his majesty such a reputation with all his neighbours, and such terror to his enemies, that it would probably dispose them to peace."

536 They told them, "the best method to compute what the expense might amount to in a year, would be by reflecting upon the vast disproportion of the charge we were now already engaged in, and what had been estimated four months since, when the war was designed. That it was well known to Mr. Coventry, who had been always present at those conferences, that it had been said by the most experienced sea-officers, and those who had fought all the late battles against the Dutch, that a fleet of forty or fifty such ships, as the king's were, would be strength sufficient to beat all the ships the Dutch had out of the narrow seas ; and one very eminent man amongst them

said, he would not desire above fifty ships to fight with all they had, and that he was confident that a greater number than fifty could never be brought to fight orderly or usefully: and yet that there were at present no fewer than fourscore good ships preparing for the duke. And the charge in many other particulars appeared already to amount to double the sum that was first computed."

537 They concluded, "that a less sum than two millions and a half" (which is five and twenty hundred thousand pounds sterling) "ought not to be proposed, and being once proposed ought to be insisted on and pursued without consenting to any diminution; for nobody could conceive that it would do more than maintain the war one year, which the parliament could not refuse to provide for in the beginning, [as there was] so much in truth of it already expended in the preparations and expedition the duke had made in November, when he went to sea upon the fame of the Dutch fleet's intention to convoy their Guinea ships through the channel."

538 There was not a man in the company, who did not heartily wish that that sum or a greater might be proposed and granted: but they all, though they agreed in few other things, protested, "that they could not advise that so prodigious a sum should be as much as named; and that they did not know any one man, since it could not be thought fit that any man who had relation to the king's service should move it, who had the courage to attempt it, or would be persuaded to it."

539 The two lords continued very obstinate, "that a less sum should not be named for the reasons they had given," which the other confessed to be just; and they acknowledged too, "that the proposition ought not to be made by any man who [was] related to the court, or was thought to be in any grace there that might dispose him, nor yet by any gentleman, how well soever thought of, who was of a small estate, and so to pay little of so great

a sum he was so liberal to give." They therefore desired them "to name some of those members, who were honest worthy men, and looked upon as lovers of their country, and of great fortunes, unsuspected to have any designs at court; and if they were not enough acquainted with them, the lords would find some way by themselves or others to move them to it." Whereupon they named five or six persons very well known, of whom the house had a very good esteem, but without any hope that either of them would be prevailed with to undertake it. The lords said, "they would try what might be done, and give them notice the next day, that if it were possible it might be the business of the following day."

540 The chancellor and the treasurer chose three Norfolk gentlemen of those who had been named, because they were good friends and grateful to each other, and desired them the next day "that they might confer together." They told them, "they knew well the state of affairs; the parliament had engaged the king in a war, that could not be carried on without a vast expense: and therefore if at the entrance into it there should be a small or an ordinary supply given, it would blast all their hopes, and startle all other princes from joining, with whom the Dutch were not in favour, and who would be inclined to the king, if they saw such a provision for the war as would be sufficient to continue it for some time. And therefore they desired to confer with them, who upon all occasions manifested good affections to the king, and whose advice had a great influence upon the house, upon the whole matter how it might be conducted." They all consented to what had been said, and promised their own concurrence and utmost endeavours to compass what the king should desire. The lords said, "they promised themselves more from them, and that they would not only concur, but propose what should be necessary to be granted." And thereupon they enlarged upon the charge

which was already in view, and upon what was to be expected, and concluded “that two millions and a half were necessary to be insisted on;” and desired, “that when the debate should be entered upon, which they hoped might be the next day, one of them would propose this sum and the other would second it.”

541 They looked long one upon another, as if they were surprised with the sum. At last one of them said, “that the reasons were unanswerable for a liberal supply; yet he did not expect that so prodigious a sum, which he believed had never yet been mentioned in parliament to be granted at one time, would be proposed: however, he did not think it too much, and that he would do the best he could to answer any objections which should be made against it, as he doubted many would; but he confessed he durst not propose it.” Another was of the same mind, and with many good professions desired to be excused as to the first proposing it. The third, who was sir Robert Paston, a person of a much greater estate than both the other, who had yet very good fortunes, and a gentleman of a very ancient extraction by his father, (and his mother was daughter to the earl of Lindsey,) declared very frankly, “that he was satisfied in his conscience, that it would be very good for the kingdom as well as for the king that such a sum should be granted: and therefore if they thought him fit to do it, he would propose it the next morning, let other men think what they would of him for it.”

542 The lords gave him the thanks they ought to do, and said what was necessary to confirm him, and to thank the other gentlemen for their promise to second him, and gave notice to the rest of the resolution, that they might call for the debate the next day; which was entered into with a general cheerfulness, every man acknowledging the necessity and the engagement of the house, but no man adventuring to name the proportion that should be given.

When the house was in a deep silence expecting that motion, sir Robert Paston, who was no frequent speaker, but delivered what he had a mind to say very clearly, stood up, mentioned shortly the obligation, the charge of the war, and “that the present supply ought to be such as might as well terrify the enemy as assist the king; and therefore he proposed that they might give his majesty two millions and a half, which would amount to five and twenty hundred thousand pounds.” The silence of the house was not broken; they sat as in amazement, until a gentleman, who was believed to wish well to the king, without taking notice of what had been proposed, stood up, and moved that they might give the king a much less proportion. But then the two others, who had promised to second, renewed the motion one after the other; which seemed to be entertained with a consent of many, and was contradicted by none: so that, after a short pause, no man who had relation to the court speaking a word, the speaker put it to the question, “whether they would give the king five and twenty hundred thousand pounds for the carrying on the war against the Dutch;” and the affirmative made a good sound, and very few gave their negative aloud, and it was notorious very many sat silent. So the vote was presently drawn up into an order; and the house resolved the next day to be in a committee, to agree upon the way that should be taken for the raising this vast sum, the proportion whereof could no more be brought into debate.

- 543 This brave vote gave the king the first liking of the war: it was above what he had expected or indeed wished to be proposed. And they, who had been at the first conference, and delivered the resolution of the two lords as impossible to be compassed, not without insinuation as if it were affected only to indispose the house to the war, (yet they did not think fit to vary from the proportion, till they saw the success of the proposition, which the

lords were engaged to procure a fit person to make,) when they found the conclusion to be such as could be wished, they commended the counsel, and fell into another extreme, that in the thing itself and in the consequence did very much harm; which shall be next mentioned, after I have said that there appeared great joy and exaltation of spirit upon this vote, and not more in the court than upon the exchange, the merchants generally being unskilfully inclined to that war, above what their true interest could invite them to, as in a short time afterwards they had cause to confess.

- 544 The king sent to the lord mayor to call a common council, and commanded the chancellor, treasurer, and other lords of his council, to go thither; who, upon the credit of this vote of the house of commons for this noble supply, prevailed with the city presently to furnish the king with the loan of two hundred thousand pounds; which being within few days paid into the hands of the treasurer of the navy, all preparations for the fleet, and of whatever else was necessary for the expedition, were provided with marvellous alacrity: and the parliament made what haste was possible to despatch the bill, by which their great present might be collected from the people.
- 545 It hath been said before, that in most vacant places, upon the death of any members, ways were found out to procure some of the king's domestic servants [to be] elected in their places; so that his majesty had many voices there at his devotion; which did not advance his service. These men confidently ran out of the house still to inform the king of what was doing, commended this man, and discommended another who deserved better; and would many times, when his majesty spake well of any man, ask his majesty "if he would give them leave to let that person know how gracious his majesty was to him, or to bring him to kiss his hand." To which he commonly consenting, every one of his servants delivered

some message from him to a parliament-man, and invited him to court, as if the king would be willing to see him. And by this means the rooms at court, where the king was, were always full of the members of the house of commons; this man brought to kiss his hand, and the king induced to confer with that man, and to thank him for his affection, which never could conclude without some general expression of grace or promise, which the poor gentleman always interpreted to his own advantage, and expected some fruit from it that it could never yield: all which, being contrary to all former order, did the king no good, and rendered those unable to do him service who were inclined to it.

546 The new secretary, and sir Charles Berkley, who by this time was entered very far into the king's favour and his confidence, were the chief, and by their places had access to him in all places and hours: and they much disliked the officiousness of the others, as if they presumed to invade their province. They thought it but their due, that the king should take his measures of the house of commons by no other report but theirs, nor dispense his graces there through any other conduit. They took this occasion to caress sir Robert Paston, who was a stranger to them, and to magnify the service he had done the king, and the great sense the king had of it, and [that he] did long to give him his own thanks: they invited him to come to the court, and sir Charles Berkley told him as from the king, "that his majesty resolved to make him a baron." And by these daily courtships and importunities the gentleman, who was well satisfied with what he had done, and never proposed any advantage to himself from it, was amused, and thought he was not to refuse any honour the king thought him worthy of, nor to neglect those graces which were offered to him by persons of their interest. Yet he made not haste to go to the court, believing that it might make him less capable of serving the king, and



that any favour his majesty should do him would be more seasonable hereafter than at present, lest he might be thought to have made that motion in the house upon promise of the other reward. Yet after continued invitations he went thither, and those gentlemen presented him to the king, who spake very graciously to him, told him, “he had done him great service, which he would never forget,” and many other princely expressions, and “that he should be glad to see him often,” but no particular to that purpose which had been mentioned to him.

- 547 When he went next, he found his majesty's countenance the same: but they, who had courted and amused him so much, grew every day more dry and reserved towards him; of which he complained to a friend of his who he knew had interest in the chancellor, and desired him to acquaint him with all that had passed, who had not till then heard that he had been at court, and when he was informed of the whole relation was very much troubled, well knowing, that how acceptable soever those kinds of courtships were for few days, they were attended with many inconveniences when the end was not correspondent with the beginning. He knew well the resolution the king had taken to create no more noblemen, the number whereof already too much exceeded: however, he was very sorry, that a person of that quality and merit should be exposed to any indignity, for having endeavoured in such a conjuncture to do his majesty a signal service, and succeeded so well; and spake with the king at large of it, and gave his majesty a full account of the modesty and temper of the gentleman, of his quality and interest, and what had been said and promised to him. The king was troubled, owned all that he had said himself to him, as being very hearty, and “that he would never forget the service he had done, but requite it upon any opportunity;” but protested, “that he had never made any such promise, nor given sir Charles Berkley any authority

to mention any such thing to him, which would prove very inconvenient; and therefore wished, that his friend would divert him from prosecuting such a pretence, which he knew to be contrary to his resolution.”

548 The chancellor knew not what to say, but truly advertised his friend of all the king had said, who again informed sir Robert Paston, who thought himself very hardly treated, and went to sir Charles Berkley, who had not the same open arms, yet assured him, “that he had said nothing to him but by the king’s direction, which he must aver. That he did not use to interpose or move the king in any of his affairs: but if he would desire the chancellor to take notice of it, who he knew had a great affection for him, and upon whose desire he had performed that great service, he was confident it would be attended with the success he wished, to which he would contribute all his endeavours;” intimating, “that if he had not what he desired, he might impute it to the chancellor.” Upon which sir Robert, who was well assured of the chancellor’s kindness, concluded that his court friends had deluded him, or expected money, which he would not give: and so the matter ended with prejudice to the king.

549 Notwithstanding these and the like very inconvenient activities, which lost more friends than were gotten by them, the noise of this stupendous supply, given to the king at one time, made good impressions upon all who had any affections for the king, and was wondered at in those places where money was most plenty. In Holland it wrought even to consternation, and the common people cried aloud for peace, and the States pretended to have great hope as well as desire of it, and sent their ambassador, who remained still in England, new orders to solicit it.

550 In the mean time the king neglected not to apply what endeavours he could use, to dispose his allies to act such

parts as their own interest might reasonably invite them to. From France he expected only neutrality, by reason he knew he had renewed the alliance with the States; but never suspected, that it was in such a manner as would hinder the neutrality. Spain could do little good or harm, nor durst it to engage against Holland: yet all was done that was necessary towards a good correspondence with it. The two northern kings would find themselves concerned, at least to wish better to one side than to the other; and had been both so disobliged by the Dutch, that had it not been for the irreconcilable jealousy they had of each other, they might have been united to the interest of England. But Denmark had in the late war given what they could not keep nor recover, and yet could hardly be without; and Sweden looked with too much contempt upon the weakness and unactivity of their neighbour, to give back any thing they had got: and this restrained them both from provoking an enemy that might give strength to the other.

551 Yet Denmark had the year before by Hannibal Zested, who went ambassador into France and made England his way, made many complaints to the king “of the oppression the crown of Denmark underwent by the Dutch, and the resolution it had to shake off that yoke as soon as an opportunity should be offered;” and made a request to the king, “that he would endeavour to make the alliance so fast between Denmark and Sweden, that the jealousy of each other might hinder neither of them from doing any thing that was for their own interest, without prejudice to the other.” And when the difficulty was alleged, in regard that Sweden would never be persuaded to part with Elsinour, and those other places which had been given up in the late treaty; Hannibal Zested consented that what was done in that treaty should be again confirmed, and said “his master was willing and desirous

that the king of England should undertake and be caution for the observation of this treaty ;” implying, “that if this were done, and thereby the fear of any further attempt from Sweden were extinguished, Denmark would not be long without redeeming itself from the vexation which it endured from Holland, which, upon former necessities and ill bargains, upon the matter had an exemption from paying all duties upon their own great trade through the Sound, as much to the prejudice of all other princes as of the poor crown of Denmark.” This having so lately passed from a minister of that crown, the king thought it a good time to endeavour to do that office between the two crowns, and thereby to unite them both to the king in this conjunction against the Dutch ; at least that they might both remain good friends to his majesty, and supply him with all those provisions without which his navy could not be supported, and as far as was possible restrain the Dutch from those supplies, by making such large contracts with the English, that there would not be enough left for the other.

552 Upon this ground he sent Mr. Henry Coventry of his bedchamber to the Swede, whose friendship he much more valued as more able to assist him, and upon whose word he could more firmly depend. And to Denmark he sent sir Gilbert Talbot, who was acceptable to that crown by his having performed many offices of respect to the prince of Denmark, when he had been incognito in England, and waited upon [him] to several parts of the kingdom which he had a mind to see, and so caused him to be entertained in several gentlemen’s houses in his journey, of which the prince seemed very sensible when he departed. That which was expected from that negotiation, except the confidence could be created between the two crowns, was only to preserve Denmark a friend, that he might not favour the Dutch, and might recall all his

subjects out of their service; and that we might have the same freedom of trade, and the security of his ports for our men of war.

- 553 Whilst the king took this care for the advancement of his affairs abroad, there was an advantage offered him, that looked as if it came from Heaven. There came one day a gentleman, who looked rather like a carter, who spoke ill English, and desired that he might have a private audience with the chancellor; who presently sent for him, and in a short time knew him to be a Benedictine monk, who had been sometimes with him at Cologne, and belonged to the English abbey at Lamspring in Westphalia, where a very reverend person of the family of Gascoigne in Yorkshire was abbot, with whom the chancellor had much acquaintance, and esteemed him very much; and he had, during the time the king stayed in Cologne, sent this monk several times thither, who was likewise a gentleman, but by living long in Germany had almost forgot the language as well as the manners of his own country. His business now was to deliver him a letter (whereof he knew little of the contents) from the bishop of Munster, upon the edge of whose dominions that English abbey was seated, which had likewise a territory that extended to the principality of the other, and received much favour and protection from the other; who desired the abbot to give him an honest man, that would carry a letter from him to the court of England: upon which this monk was deputed, the rather because he was known to the chancellor. The matter of the letter was no more, than “that if the war against Holland was to be resolutely prosecuted by the king of England, he (the bishop) conceived that a conjunction with those allies, who could infest the Dutch by land as his majesty would do by sea, might not be unacceptable to his majesty; and in that case, upon the answer to this letter, he would send a fit person to make some propositions to the king

and to treat with him." The instructions the monk had, were "to make all possible haste back, and that as soon as he returned on that side the sea, he should send the answer he had received, by the post, so directed as was appointed; and then that himself should stay at Brussels till he received further orders."

554 The chancellor quickly informed the king of this despatch, to whom the monk was likewise known; and his majesty immediately assembled those lords with whom he consulted in the most secret cases. Every body knew so much of the bishop of Munster, that he was a warlike prince, having had command in armies before he dedicated himself to the church, and that he had a great animosity against Holland, which had disobliged him in the highest point, by encouraging his subjects to rebel against him, and those of his city of Munster to shut their gates against him: and when he endeavoured to reduce them by force, and to that purpose had besieged them with his army, the Dutch sent an army to relieve it, and declared that they would protect that city. And by this means, and by the mediation of the neighbour princes, who had no mind that the peace of their country should be disturbed by such an incursion, the bishop was hindered from taking that vengeance upon his rebel subjects which he intended, and compelled to accept of such conditions as did not please him. And all this was but two years before, and boiled still in his breast, that was naturally very hot. But he was a poor prince, unable to give any disturbance to the United Provinces, whose dominions extended within a day's march of his. However, every man was of opinion, that the proposition ought to be very kindly received, and the bishop invited to send his agent. And to that purpose the chancellor wrote to him, and the monk was despatched the next day. And having observed his orders in sending away the answer, he was very few days at Brussels, when a servant of the bishop arrived

with orders that the monk should accompany him back into England: and so they both arrived in London in less time than could be expected.

555 The gentleman who came from the bishop was a very proper man, well-bred, a baron of that country, but a subject to the bishop: he brought with him a letter of credit from the bishop to the king, and full authority to treat and conclude according to his instructions, which he likewise presented to his majesty. He brought likewise a letter to the chancellor from the elector of Mentz, in which he recommended to him the person whom the bishop of Munster should send, and declared “that he believed the bishop of Munster would be able to perform whatsoever he should undertake:” which letter was a very great encouragement to the king: for his majesty knew the elector of Mentz very well to be a very wise prince and notoriously his friend, and that he would not say so much of the ability of the bishop to perform, except he knew particularly his design, and what he would undertake to do.

556 The baron’s instructions were to propose, “that his majesty would cause one hundred thousand pounds to be immediately paid, by bills of exchange at Hamburgh or Cologne or Francfort, to such persons as the bishop should appoint to receive it; and should promise to pay fifty thousand pounds by the month in the same places for three months to come: afterwards he hoped the army would provide for its own support. This being undertaken on his majesty’s part, the bishop would be engaged, within one month after the first bills of exchange for the one hundred thousand pounds should be delivered into the hands of his agent the baron, that he would be in the dominions of the States General with an army of sixteen thousand foot and four thousand horse; with which he was very confident he should within few days be possessed of Arnheim, and shortly after of Utrecht: and if the

king's fleet came before Amsterdam, that army of the bishop should march to what place or quarter his majesty should direct."

557 The baron was asked, "how it could be possible for the bishop, though a gallant prince and very active, to draw together such an army in so short a time out of his small province; and how he was sure that his neighbours, who two years before had compelled him to make so disadvantageous a peace with the Dutch, would not again use the same violent importunity to obstruct his proceedings." To which he answered, "that the bishop would never undertake to bring such an army together in so short a time, in which they could not be levied, but that he knows they are already levied, and upon an assurance of money can be brought together in the short time proposed: for the other, the interposition of his neighbours, he had not then, when they prevailed, half that army which he was sure he should now have; besides, those neighbours were now as much incensed against the Dutch as his master was, and would all engage with him against them; and that many of the army that is designed were at present quartered in their dominions; and that the bishop intended not to march in his own private capacity, but as general of the empire, for which the elector of Mentz had undertaken to procure him a commission." He was demanded "how his master stood with France, and whether he did not fear that it would either prevent the enterprise by mediation, or disappoint it by sending aid to Holland." He answered, "his master was confident France would not do him any harm: that he had sent an agent, from whom he should be sure to receive letters by every post." And within few days after, he shewed a letter that he had received from that agent, in which he said, "that Monsieur de Lionne bade him assure the bishop, that his Christian majesty would do nothing to his prejudice."



558 This being the state of that affair, the king considered what he was to do. The propositions made by the bishop were such, as it was not possible for him to comply with. But then it was presumed by every body, that very much would be abated of the money that was demanded: for it was not an auxiliary army that was to be raised for the king's service, whose conquests were to be applied to his benefit, but an army raised to revenge the injuries which himself had received, and what he should get must be to his own account; and his majesty's hostility at sea would as much facilitate his enterprise at land, as the marching of his army might probably disturb and distract their preparations for the sea. Yet it could not be expected, that the bishop could draw this army together (and the attempt was not to be made with less force) without a good supply of money, nor keep it together without pay.

559 The advantage, that would with God's blessing attend this conjunction, spread itself to a very large prospect. That the people generally in the provinces were very unsatisfied with this war, was a thing notorious; and that the province of Holland which began it, and was entirely governed by De Wit, did even compel the other provinces to concur with them, partly upon hope that a further progress would be prevented by treaty, or that a peace would follow upon the first engagement. But when they should see an army of twenty thousand men, which they suspected not, to invade their country at land, and in that part where they were most secure, and from whence so much of their necessary provisions were daily brought; they must be in great consternation, and draw all their land army together, which they had not done in near twenty years, and could not be done to any effect without vast charge, which would put the people into a loud distraction. Finally, there was great reason to cherish the design: and therefore the king resolved by an unanimous

advice to undertake any thing towards it, that could be in his power to perform.

560 There was one difficulty occurred, that had not been thought of nor so much as apprehended by the baron, which was the return of the money, whatsoever should be assigned to that service; for of the three places proposed by him, besides the secrecy that was requisite, all the trade of London could not assign one thousand pounds in the month to be paid upon Cologne and Francfort; nor could Hamburgh itself be charged with twenty thousand pounds in three months' time: which when the agent knew, he seemed amazed, and said, "they had believed that it had been as easy to have transmitted money to those three towns, as it was for them to receive it from thence."

561 In conclusion, the king gave his answer in writing, what sum of money he would cause to be paid at once for the first advance, that the bishop might begin his march, and what he would afterwards cause to be paid by the month; which being less than the baron's instructions would admit him to accept, he sent an express with it to the bishop: and "till his return," he desired, "that the king would appoint some person of experience to confer with him; and they might together inform themselves of the best expedients to return money into Germany, since his majesty had hitherto only undertaken to pay his assignations in London." What success this treaty afterwards had will be related in its place.

562 These advantages from abroad being in this manner deliberated and designed, it may be very seasonable to look back, and consider what preparations were made at home towards the carrying [on] this war, for which the parliament had provided so bountifully: and if ordinary prudence had been applied to the managery, if any order and method had been consulted and steadily pursued for the conducting the whole, the success would have been

answerable, and at least any inconvenience from the sudden want of money would have been prevented. But whoever was at any [near] distance in that time when those transactions were in agitation, as there are yet many worthy men who were, or shall be able to procure a sincere information of the occurrences of that time, will be obliged to confess, that they who contrived the war had the entire conducting it, and were the sole causes of all the ill effects of it; which cannot be set down particularly without wounding those, who were by their confidence in ill instruments made accessary to those mischiefs, in which themselves suffered most. Nor is it the end of this true relation to fix a brand upon the memory of those, who deserve it from the public and from very many worthy men, but it is to serve only for a memorial to cast my own eyes upon, when I cannot but reflect upon those proceedings; and by my consent shall never come into any hands but theirs, who for their own sakes will take care to preserve it from any public view or perusal.

563 It cannot be denied and may very truly be averred, that from the hour of the king's return, and being possessed of the entire government, the naval affairs were never put into any order. That province, being committed to the duke as lord high admiral of England, was entirely engrossed by his servants, in truth by Mr. Coventry, who was newly made his secretary, and who made use of his other servants, who were better known to him, to infuse into his highness the opinion, "that whoever presumed to meddle in any thing that related to the navy or the admiralty, invaded his jurisdiction, and would lessen him in the eyes of the people; and that he ought to be jealous of such men, as of those who would undermine his greatness; and that as he was superior to all men by being the king's brother, so being high admiral he was to render account to none but to the king, nor suffer any body else to interpose in any thing relating to

it." Whereas in truth there is no officer of the crown more subject to the council-board than the admiral of England, who is to give an account of all his actions and of every branch of his office constantly to the board, and to receive their orders: nor hath he the nomination of the captains of the ships, till upon the presentation of their names he receives their approbation, which is never denied. Nor was there any counsellor who had ever sat at the board in the last king's time, to whom this was not as much known as any order of the table.

564 But there was no retrieving this authority, not only from the influence Mr. Coventry, and they of the family who adhered to him, had upon the duke, but from the king's own inclination, who thought that those officers, who immediately depended upon himself and only upon himself, were more at his devotion than they who were obliged to give an account to any other superior. And from the time that he came first into France, he had not been accustomed to any discourse more than to the undervaluing the privy-council, as if it shadowed the king too much, and usurped too much of his authority, and too often superseded his own commands. And the queen his mother had, upon these discourses, always some instances of the authority which in such a case the council had assumed against the king's judgment; the exception to which, according to the relation which nobody could question, seemed to be very reasonable. This kind of discourse, being the subject of every day, made so great impression that it could never be defaced, and made the election and nomination of counsellors less considered, since they were to be no more advised with afterwards than before.

565 Another argument, that used to be as frequently insisted upon by the queen, and with more passion and indignation, was of the little respect and reverence that by the law or custom of England was paid to the younger

sons of the crown; and though there was nobody present in those conversations who knew any thing of the law or custom in those cases, yet all that was said was taken as granted. And not only the duke but the king himself had a marvellous prejudice to the nation in that part of good manners: and it was easily agreed, that the model of France was in those and other cases much more preferable, and which was afterwards observed in too many.

566 This being then the state and temper of the royal family when the king returned, which then consisted of the duke of Gloucester, and two princesses more than it now hath; the very next morning after the fleet came to Scheveling, the duke went on board and took possession of it as lord high admiral: and so his secretary provided new commissions for all the officers who were in present command, for which it is probable they all paid very liberally: for with him the custom began to receive five pounds for every warrant signed by the duke, and for which no secretary to any lord admiral formerly had ever received above twenty shillings. Mr. Coventry, who was utterly unacquainted with all the rules and customs of the sea, and knew none of the officers, but was much courted by all, as the secretary to the admiral always is, made choice of captain Pen, whom the king knighted as soon as he came on board; who from a common man had grown up under Cromwell to the highest command, and was in great favour with him till he failed in the action of St. Domingo, when he went admiral at sea, as Venables was general at land, for which they were both imprisoned in the Tower by Cromwell, nor ever employed by him afterwards: but upon his death he had command again at sea, as he had at this time under Mountague when he came to attend the king. With this man Mr. Coventry made a fast friendship, and was guided by him in all things.

567 All the offices which belonged to the ships, to the

navy, to the yards, to the whole admiralty, (except the three superior officers, which are not in the disposal of the admiral,) were now void, and to be supplied by the duke, that is, by Mr. Coventry; who by the advice of sir William Pen, who was solely trusted by him in the brocage, conferred them upon those (without observing any other rule) who would give most money, [not] considering any honest seaman who had continued in the king's service, or suffered long imprisonment for him. And because an incredible sum of money [did] and would rise this way, some principal officers in the yards, as the master smith and others, and the keepers of the stores, yielding seven, eight hundred, or a thousand pounds; he had the skill to move the duke to bestow such money as would arise upon such place upon sir Charles Berkley, for another to another, and for some to be divided between two or three: by which means the whole family was obliged, and retained to justify him; and the duke himself looked upon it as a generosity in Mr. Coventry, to accommodate his fellow servants with what he might have asked or kept for himself. But it was the best husbandry he could have used: for by this means all men's mouths were stopped, and all clamour secured; whilst the lesser sums for a multitude of offices of all kinds were reserved to himself, and which, in the estimation of those who were at no great distance, amounted to a very [great] sum, and more than any officer under the king could possibly get by all the perquisites of his place in many years. By this means, the whole navy and ships were filled with the same men who had enjoyed the same places and offices under Cromwell, and thereby were the better able to pay well for them; whereof many of the most infamous persons which that time took notice of were now become the king's officers, to the great scandal of their honest neighbours, who observed that they retained the same manners and affec-

tions, and used the same discourses they had formerly done.

568 Besides many other irreparable inconveniences and mischiefs which resulted from this corruption and choice, one grew quickly visible and notorious, in the stealing and embezzling all manner of things out of the ships, even when they were in service : but when they returned from any voyages, incredible proportions of powder, match, cordage, sails, anchors, and all other things, instead of being restored to the several proper officers which were to receive them, were embezzled and sold, and very often sold to the king himself for the setting out other ships and for replenishing his stores. And when this was discovered (as many times it was) and the criminal person apprehended, it was alleged by him as a defence or excuse, “that he had paid so dear for his place, that he could not maintain himself and family without practising such shifts :” and none of those fellows were ever brought to exemplary justice, and most of them were restored to their employments.

569 The three superior officers of the navy were possessed of their offices by patents under the great seal of England before the king's return ; and they are the natural established council of the lord high admiral, and are to attend him when he requires it, and always used of course to be with him one certain day in a week, to render him an account of all the state of the office, and to receive his orders and to give their advice. And now, because these three depended not enough upon him, but especially out of animosity against sir George Carteret, who, besides being treasurer of the navy, was vice-chamberlain of the king's household, and so a privy counsellor ; Mr. Coventry proposed to the duke, “that in regard of the multiplicity of business in the navy, much more than in former times, and the setting out greater fleets than had been accustomed in that age when those officers and

that model for the government of the navy had been established, his royal highness would propose to the king to make an addition, by commissioners, of some other persons always to sit with the other officers with equal authority, and to sign all bills with them ;” which was a thing never heard of before, and is in truth a lessening of the power of the admiral. It is very true, there have frequently been commissioners for the navy ; but it hath been in the same [place] of the admiral and to perform his office : but in the time of an admiral commissioners have not been heard of. One principal end in this was, to draw from the treasurer of the navy (whose office Mr. Coventry thought too great, and had implacable animosity against him from the first hour after he had made his friendship with Pen) out of his fees (which, though no greater than were granted by his patent and had been always enjoyed by his predecessors, were indeed greater than had used to be in times of peace, when much less money passed through his hands) what should be enough to pay those commissioners ; for it was not reasonable they should serve for nothing, nor that they should be upon the king’s charge, since the treasurer’s perquisites might be enough for all.

570 The duke liked the proposition well, and, without conferring with any body else upon it, proposed it to the king at the council-board, where nobody thought fit to examine or debate what the duke proposed ; and the king approved it, and ordered, “that the commissioners should receive each five hundred pounds by the year :” but finding afterwards that the treasurer of the navy’s fees were granted to him under the great seal, his majesty did not think it just to take it from him, but would bear it himself, and appointed the treasurer to pay and pass those pensions in his account. The commissioners named and commended by the duke to the king were the lord Berkley, sir John Lawson, sir William Pen,



and sir George Ayscue; the three [last] the most eminent sea-officers under Cromwell, but it must not be denied but that they served the king afterwards very faithfully. These the king made his commissioners, with a pension to each of five hundred pounds the year, and in some time after added Mr. Coventry to the number with the same pension: so that this first reformation in the time of peace cost the king one way or other no less than three thousand pounds yearly, without the least visible benefit or advantage. The lord Berkley neither understood any thing that related to the office or employment, and therefore very seldom was present in the execution. But after he had enjoyed the pension a year or thereabout, he procured leave to sell his place, and procured a gentleman, Mr. Thomas Harvey, to give him three thousand pounds for it: so soon this temporary commission, which might have expired within a month, got the reputation of an office for life by the good managery of an officer.

571 This was the state of the navy before the war with Holland was resolved upon. Let us in the next place see what alterations were made in it, or what other preparations were made, or counsels entered upon, for the better conduct of this war: and a clear and impartial view or reflection upon what was then said and done, gave discerning men an unhappy presage of what would follow. There was no discourse now in the court, after this royal subsidy of five and twenty hundred thousand pounds was granted, but, “of giving the law to the whole trade of Christendom; of making all ships which passed by or through the narrow seas to pay an imposition to the king, as all do to the king of Denmark who pass by the Sound; and making all who pass near to pay contribution to his majesty;” which must concern all the princes of Christendom: and the king and duke were often desired to discountenance and suppress this impertinent talk,

which must increase the number of the enemies. Commissioners were appointed to reside in all or the most eminent port-towns, for the sale of all prize-goods; and these were chosen for the most part out of those members of the house of commons, who were active to advance the king's service, or who promised to be so, to whom liberal salaries were assigned.

572 There were then commissioners appointed to judge all appeals, which should be made upon and against all sentences given by the judge of the admiralty and his deputies; and these were all privy counsellors, the earl of Lautherdale, the lord Ashley, and the secretaries of state, who were like to be most careful of the king's profit. But then the rules which were prescribed to judge by were such as were [warranted] by no former precedents, [nor] acknowledged to be just by the practice of any neighbour nation, and such as would make all ships which traded for Holland, from what kingdom soever, lawful prize; which was foreseen would bring complaints from all places, as it did as soon as the war begun. French and Spaniard and Swede and Dane were alike treated; whilst their ambassadors made loud complaints every day to the king and the council for the injustice and the rapine, without remedy, more than references to the admiralty, and then to the lords commissioners of appeal, which increased the charge, and raised and improved the indignity. Above all, the Hanse-Towns of Hamburgh, Lubeck, Bremen, and the rest, (who had large exemptions and privileges by charter granted by former kings and now renewed by this,) had the worst luck; for none of them could ever be distinguished from the Dutch. Their ships were so like, and their language so near, that not one of their vessels were met with, from what part of the world soever they came, or whithersoever they [were] bound, but they were brought [in]; and if the evidence was such as there could

be no colour to retain them, but that they must be released, they always carried with them sad remembrances of the company they had been in.

573 There was one sure rule to make any ship prize, which was, if above three Dutch mariners were aboard it there need [no] further proof for the forfeiture; which being no where known could not be prevented, all merchants' ships, when they are ready for their voyage, taking all seamen on board of what nation soever who are necessary for their service: so that those Dutchmen who run from their own country to avoid fighting, (as very many did, and very many more would have done,) and put themselves on board merchants' ships of any other country, where they were willingly entertained, made those ships lawful prize in which they served, by a rule that nobody knew nor would submit to.

574 It was resolved that all possible encouragement should be given to privateers, that is, to as many as would take commissions from the admiral to set out vessels of war, as they call them, to take prizes from the enemy; which no articles or obligations can restrain from all the villainy they can act, and are a people, how countenanced soever or thought necessary, that do bring an unavoidable scandal, and it is to be feared a curse, upon the justest war that was ever made at sea. A sail! A sail! is the word with them; friend or foe is the same; they possess all they can master, and run with it to any obscure place where they can sell it, (which retreats are never wanting,) and never attend the ceremony of an adjudication. Besides the horrible scandal and clamour that this classis of men brought upon the king and the whole government for defect of justice, the prejudice which resulted from thence to the public and to the carrying on the service is unspeakable: all seamen run to them. And though the king now assigned an ample share of all prizes taken by his own ships to the seamen, over and above their wages;

yet there was great difference between the condition of the one and the other: in the king's fleet they might gain well, but they were sure of blows, nothing could be got there without fighting; with the privateers there was rarely fighting, they took all who could make little resistance, and fled from all who were too strong for them. And so those fellows were always well manned, when the king's ships were compelled to stay many days for want of men, who were raised by pressing and with great difficulty. And whoever spake against those lewd people, upon any case whatsoever, was thought to have no regard for the duke's profit, nor to desire to weaken the enemy.

575 In all former wars at sea, as there was great care taken to appoint commissioners for the sale of all prize-goods, who understood the value of those commodities they had to sell, yet were compelled to sell better bargains than are usually got in public markets; so there was all strictness used in bringing all receivers to as punctual an account, as any other of the king's receivers are bound to make, and to compel them to pay in all the money they receive into the exchequer, that it might be issued out to the treasurer of the navy or to other officers for the expense of the war. And it had been a great argument in the first consultations upon this war, "that it would support itself; and that after one good fleet should be set out once to beat the Dutch," (for that was never thought worthy of a doubt,) "the prizes, which would every day after be taken, would plentifully do all the rest; besides the great sum that the Dutch would give to purchase their peace, and the yearly rent they would give for the liberty of fishing;" with all which it was not thought fit to allow them "to keep above such a number of ships of war, limited to so many ton and to so many guns;" with many particulars of that nature, which were carefully digested by those who promoted the war. But now, after this supply given by the parliament, there was no more

danger of want of money: and many discourses there were, “that the prize-money might be better disposed in rebuilding the king’s houses, and many other good uses which would occur;” and the king forbore to speak any more of appointing receivers and treasurers for that purpose, when all or most other officers, who were judged necessary for the service, were already named; and the lord treasurer, who by his office should have the recommendation of those officers to the king, had a list of men, who for the reputation and experience they had were in his judgment worthy to be trusted, to be presented to the king when he should enter upon that subject.

576 But one evening a servant of the lord Ashley came to the chancellor with a bill signed, and desired in his master’s name, “that it might be sealed that night.” The bill was, “to make and constitute the lord Ashley treasurer of all the money that should be raised upon the sale of all prizes, which were or should be taken in this present war, with power to make all such officers as should be necessary for the service; and that he should account for all monies so received to the king himself, and to no other person whatsoever, and pay and issue out all those monies which he should receive, in such manner as his majesty should appoint by warrant under his sign manual, and by no other warrant; and that he should be free and exempt from accounting into the exchequer.” When the chancellor had seen the contents, he bade the messenger tell his lord, “that he would speak with the king before he would seal that grant, and that he desired much to speak with himself.”

577 The next morning he waited upon the king, and informed him “of the bill that was brought to him, and doubted that he had been surprised: that it was not only such an original as was without any precedent, but in itself in many particulars destructive to his service and to the right of other men. That all receivers of any part

of his revenue were accountable in the exchequer, and could receive their discharge in no other place : and that if so great a receipt, as this was already," (for the fleet of wine and other ships already seized were by a general computation valued at one hundred thousand pounds,) "and as it evidently would be, should pass without the most formal account ; his majesty might be abominably cozened, nor could it any other way be prevented. And in the next place, that this grant was not only derogatory to the lord treasurer, but did really degrade him, there being another treasurer made more absolute than himself, and without dependence upon him." And therefore he besought his majesty, "that he would reconsider the thing itself and hear it debated, at least that the treasurer might be first heard, without which it could not be done in justice : " to which he added, "that he would speak with the lord Ashley himself, and tell him how much he was to blame to affect such a province, which might bring great inconveniences upon his person and his estate."

578 He quickly found that the king had not been surprised in what he had done, "which," he said, "was absolutely in his own power to do ; and that it would bring prejudice only to himself, which he had sufficiently provided against." However, he seemed willing to decline any thing that looked like an affront to the treasurer, and therefore was content that the sealing it might be suspended till he had further considered.

579 The lord Ashley came shortly to the chancellor, and seemed "to take it unkindly that his patent was not sealed : " to which he answered, "that he had suspended the immediate sealing it for three reasons ; whereof one was, that he might first speak with the king, who he believed would receive much prejudice by it ; another, that it would not consist with the respect he owed to the lord treasurer, who was much affronted in it, to seal it before he was made acquainted with it. And in the last place,

that he had stopped it for his, the lord Ashley's, own sake: and that he believed he had neither enough considered the indignity that was offered to the lord treasurer, to whom he professed so much respect, and by whose favour and powerful interposition he enjoyed the office he held, nor his own true interest, in submitting his estate to those incumbrances which such a receipt would inevitably expose it to. And that the exemption from making any account but to the king himself would deceive him: and as it was an unusual and unnatural privilege, so it would never be allowed in any court of justice, which would exact both the account and the payment or lawful discharge of what money he should receive; and if he depended upon the exemption he would live to repent it."

580     He answered little to the particulars more than with some sullenness, "that the king had given him the office, and knew best what is good for his own service; and that except his majesty retracted his grant, he would look to enjoy the benefit of it. That he did not desire to put an affront upon the lord treasurer; and if there were any expressions in his commission which reflected upon him, he was content they should be mended or left out: in all other respects he was resolved to run the hazard."

581     The treasurer himself, though he knew that he was not well used, and exceedingly disdained the behaviour of his nephew, (for the lord Ashley had married his niece,) who he well knew had by new friendships cancelled all the obligations to him, would not appear to oppose what the king resolved, but sat unconcerned, and took no notice of any thing. And so within a short time the king sent a positive order to the chancellor to seal the commission; which he could no longer refuse, and did it with the more trouble, because he very well knew, that few men knew the lord Ashley better than the king himself did, or had a worse opinion of his integrity. But he was now

gotten into friendships which were most behooveful to him, and which could remove or reconcile all prejudices: he was fast linked to sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Coventry in a league offensive and defensive, the same friends and the same enemies, and had got an entire trust with the lady, who very well understood the benefit such an officer would be to her. Nor was it difficult to persuade the king (who thought himself more rich in having one thousand pounds in his closet that nobody knew of, than in fifty thousand pounds in his exchequer) how many conveniences he would find in having so much money at his own immediate disposal, without the formality of privy seals and other men's warrants, and the indecency and mischief which would attend a formal account of all his generous donatives and expense, which should be known only to himself.

582 Though the king seemed to continue the same gracious countenance towards the chancellor which he had used, and frequently came to his house when he was indisposed with the gout, and consulted all his business, which he thought of public importance, with him with equal freedom; yet he himself found, and many others observed, that he had not the same credit and power with him. The nightly meetings had of late made him more the subject of the discourse; and since the time of the new secretary hey had taken more liberty to talk of what was done in council, than they had done formerly; and the duke of Buckingham pleased himself and all the company in acting all the persons who spake there in their looks and motions, in which piece of mimicry he had an especial faculty; and in this exercise the chancellor had a full part. In the height of mirth, if the king said "he would go such a journey or do such a trivial thing to-morrow," somebody would lay a wager that he would not do it; and when he asked why, it was answered, "that the chancellor would not let him:" and then another would protest,



“ that he thought there was no ground for that imputation; however, he could not deny that it was generally believed abroad, that his majesty was entirely and implicitly governed by the chancellor.” Which often put the king to declare in some passion, “ that the chancellor had served him long, and understood his business, in which he trusted him: but in any other matter than his business, he had no other credit with him than any other man;” which they reported with great joy in other companies.

583 In the former session of the parliament, the lord Ashley, out of his indifferency in matters of religion, and the lord Arlington out of his good-will to the Roman catholics, had drawn in the lord privy seal, whose interest was most in the presbyterians, to propose to the king an indulgence for liberty of conscience: for which they offered two motives; the one, “ the probability of a war with the Dutch;” though it was not then declared; “ and in that case the prosecution of people at home for their several opinions in religion would be very inconvenient, and might prove mischievous.” The other was, that the fright men were in by reason of the late bill against conventicles, and the warmth the parliament expressed with reference to the church, had so prepared all sorts of non-conformists, that they would gladly compound for liberty at any reasonable rates; and by this means a good yearly revenue might be raised to the king, and a firm concord and tranquillity be established in the kingdom, if power were granted by the parliament to the king to grant dispensations to such whom he knew to be peaceably affected, for their exercise of that religion which was agreeable to their conscience, without undergoing the penalty of the laws.” And they had prepared a schedule, in which they computed what every Roman catholic would be willing to pay yearly for the exercise of his religion, and so of every other sect; which, upon the estimate they made, would indeed have amounted to a very great sum of money yearly.

584 The king liked the arguments and the project very well, and wished them to prepare such a bill ; which was done quickly, very short, and without any mention of other advantage to grow from it, than “the peace and quiet of the kingdom, and an entire reference to the king’s own judgment and discretion in dispensing his dispensations.” This was equally approved : and though hitherto it had been managed with great secrecy, that it might not come to the knowledge of the chancellor and the treasurer, who they well knew would never consent to it ; yet the king resolved to impart it to them. And the chancellor being then afflicted with the gout, the committee that used to be called was appointed to meet at Worcester house : and thither likewise came the privy seal, and the lord Ashley, who had never before been present in those meetings.

585 The king informed them of the occasion of their conference, and caused the draught for the bill to be read to them ; which was done, and such reasons given by those who promoted it, as they thought fit ; the chief of which was, “that there could be no danger in trusting the king, whose zeal to the protestant religion was so well known, that nobody would doubt that he would use this power, when granted to him, otherwise than should be for the good and benefit of the church and state.” The chancellor and the treasurer, as had been presaged, were very warm against it, and used many arguments to dissuade the king from prosecuting it, “as a thing that could never find the concurrence of either or both houses, and which would raise a jealousy in both, and in the people generally, of his affection to the papists, which would not be good for either, and every body knew that he had no favour for either of the other factions.” But what the others said, who were of another opinion, prevailed more ; and his majesty declared, “that the bill should be presented to the house of peers as from him, and in his name ; and

that he hoped none of his servants, who knew his mind as well as every body there did, would oppose it, but either be absent or silent:" to which both the lords answered, "that they should not be absent purposely, and if they were present, they hoped his majesty would excuse them if they spake according to their conscience and judgment, which they could not forbear to do;" with which his majesty seemed unsatisfied, though the lords of the combination were better pleased than they would have been with their concurrence.

586 Within few days after, the chancellor remaining still in his chamber without being able to go, the bill was presented in the house of peers by the lord privy seal, as by the king's direction and approbation, and thereupon had the first reading: and as soon as it was read, the lord treasurer spake against it, "as unfit to be received and to have the countenance of another reading in the house, being a design against the protestant religion and in favour of the papists," with many sharp reflections upon those who had spoken for it; and many of the bishops spake to the same purpose, and urged many weighty arguments against it. However it was moved, "that since it was averred that it was with the king's privity, it would be a thing unheard of to deny it a second reading:" and that there might be no danger of a surprisal by its being read in a thin house, it was ordered "that it should be read the second time" upon a day named "at ten of the clock in the morning;" with which all were satisfied.

587 In the mean time great pains were taken to persuade particular men to approve it: and some of the bishops were sharply reprehended for opposing the king's prerogative, with some intimation "that if they continued in that obstinacy they should repent it;" to which they made such answers as in honesty and wisdom they ought

to do, without being shaken in their resolution. It was rather insinuated than declared, "that the bill had been perused," some said "drawn, by the chancellor," and averred "that he was not against it:" which being confidently reported, and believed or not believed as he was more or less known to the persons present, he thought himself obliged to make his own sense known. And so on the day appointed for the second reading, with pain and difficulty he was in his place in the house: and so after the second reading of the bill, he was of course to propose the commitment of it. Many of the bishops and others spake fiercely against it, as a way to undermine religion; and the lord treasurer, with his usual weight of words, shewed the ill consequence that must attend it, and "that in the bottom it was a project to get money at the price of religion; which he believed was not intended or known to the king, but only to those who had projected it, and, it may be, imposed upon others who meant well."

588 The lord privy seal, either upon the observation of the countenance of the house or advertisement of his friends, or unwilling to venture his reputation in the enterprise, had given over the game the first day, and now spake not at all: but the lord Ashley adhered firmly to his point, spake often and with great sharpness of wit, and had a cadence in his words and pronunciation that drew attention. He said, "it was the king's misfortune that a matter of so great concernment to him, and such a prerogative as it may be would be found to be inherent in him without any declaration of parliament, should be supported only by such weak men as himself, who served his majesty at a distance, whilst the great officers of the crown thought fit to oppose it; which he more wondered at, because nobody knew more than they the king's unshakable firmness in his religion, that had resisted and

vanquished so many great temptations; and therefore he could not be thought unworthy of a greater trust with reference to it, than he would have by this bill."

589 The chancellor, having not been present at the former debate upon the first day, thought it fit to sit silent in this, till he found the house in some expectation to hear his opinion: and then he stood up and said, "that no man could say more, if it were necessary or pertinent, of the king's constancy in his religion, and of his understanding the constitution and foundation of the church of England, than he; no man had been witness to more assaults which he had sustained than he had been, and of many victories; and therefore, if the question were how far he might be trusted in that point, he should make no scruple in declaring, that he thought him more worthy to be trusted than any man alive. But there was nothing in that bill that could make that the question, which had confounded all notions of religion, and erected a chaos of policy to overthrow all religion and government: so that the question was not, whether the king were worthy of that trust, but whether that trust were worthy of the king. That it had been no new thing for kings to divest themselves of many particular rights and powers, because they were thereby exposed to more trouble and vexation, and so deputed that authority to others qualified by [them]: and he thought it a very unreasonable and unjust thing to commit such a trust to the king, which nobody could suppose he could execute himself, and yet must subject him to daily and hourly importunities, which must be so much the more uneasy to a nature of so great bounty and generosity, that nothing is so ungrateful to him as to be obliged to deny."

590 In the vehemence of this debate, the lord Ashley having used some language that he knew reflected upon him, the chancellor let fall some unwary expressions, which were turned to his reproach and remembered long after.

When he insisted upon the wildness and illimitedness in the bill, he said, "it was ship-money in religion, that nobody could know the end of, or where it would rest; that if it were passed, Dr. Goffe or any other apostate from the church of England might be made a bishop or archbishop here, all oaths and statutes and subscriptions being dispensed with:" which were thought two envious instances, and gave his enemies opportunities to make glosses and reflections upon to his disadvantage. In this debate it fell out that the duke of York appeared very much against the bill; which was imputed to the chancellor, and served to "heap coals of fire upon his head." In the end, very few having spoken for it, though there were many who would have consented to it, besides the catholic lords, it was agreed that there should be no question put for the commitment; which was the most civil way of rejecting it, and left it to be no more called for.

591 The king was infinitely troubled at the ill success of this bill, which he had been assured would pass notwithstanding the opposition that was expected; and it had produced one effect that was foreseen though not believed, in renewing the bitterness against the Roman catholics. And they, who watched all occasions to perform those offices, had now a large field to express their malice against the chancellor and the treasurer, "whose pride only had disposed them to shew their power and credit in diverting the house from gratifying the king, to which they had been inclined;" and his majesty heard all that could be said against them without any dislike. After two or three days he sent for them both together into his closet, which made it generally believed in the court, that he resolved to take both their offices from them, and they did in truth believe and expect [it]: but there was never any cause appeared after to think that it was in his purpose. He spake to them of other business,

without taking the least notice of the other matter, and dismissed them with a countenance less open than he used to have towards them, and made it evident that he had not the same thoughts of them he had formerly.

592 And when the next day the chancellor went to him alone, and was admitted into his cabinet, and began to take notice “that he seemed to have dissatisfaction in his looks towards him;” the king, in more choler than he had ever before seen him, told him, “his looks were such as they ought to be; that he was very much unsatisfied with him, and thought he had used him very ill; that he had deserved better of him, and did not expect that he would have carried himself in that manner as he had done in the house of peers, having known his majesty’s own opinion from himself, which it seemed was of no authority with him if it differed from his judgment, to which he would not submit against his reason.”

593 The other, with the confidence of an honest man, entered upon the discourse of the matter, assured him “the very proposing it had done his majesty much prejudice, and that they who were best affected to his service in both houses were much troubled and afflicted with it: and of those who advised him to it, one knew nothing of the constitution of England, and was not thought to wish well to the religion of it; and the other was so well known to him, that nothing was more wonderful than that his majesty should take him for a safe counsellor.” He had recourse then again to the matter, and used some arguments against it which had not been urged before, and which seemed to make impression. He heard all he said with patience, but seemed not to change his mind, and answered no more than “that it was no time to speak to the matter, which was now passed; and if it had been unseasonably urged, he might still have carried himself otherwise than he had done;” and so spake of somewhat else.

594 His majesty did not withdraw any of his trust or confidence from him in his business, and seemed to have the same kindness for him : but from that time he never had the same credit with him as he had before. The lord Ashley got no ground, but sir Harry Bennet very much, who, though he spake very little in council, shewed his power out of it, by persuading his majesty to recede from many resolutions he had taken there. And afterwards, in all the debates in council which were preparatory to the war, and upon those particulars which have been mentioned before, which concerned the justice and policy that was to be observed, whatsoever was offered by the chancellor or treasurer was never considered. It was answer enough, “that they were enemies to the war;” which was true, as long as it was in deliberation : but from the time it was resolved and remediless, none of them who promoted it contributed any thing to the carrying it on proportionably to what was done by the other two.

595 There was another and a greater mischief than hath been mentioned, that resulted from that unhappy debate ; which was the prejudice and disadvantage that the bishops underwent by their so unanimous dislike of that bill. For from that time the king never treated any of them with that respect as he had done formerly, and often spake of them too slightly ; which easily encouraged others not only to mention their persons very negligently, but their function and religion itself, as an invention to impose upon the free judgments and understandings of men. What was preached in the pulpit was commented upon and derided in the chamber, and preachers acted, and sermons vilified as laboured discourses, which the preachers made only to shew their own parts and wit without any other design than to be commended and preferred. These grew to be the subjects of the mirth and wit of the court ; and so much licence [was] mani-



fested in it, that gave infinite scandal to those who observed it, and to those who received the reports of it: and all serious and prudent men took it as an ill presage, that whilst all warlike preparations were made in abundance suitable to the occasion, there should so little preparation of spirit be for a war against an enemy, who might possibly be without some of our virtues, but assuredly was without any of our vices.

596 There begun now to appear another enemy, much more formidable than the Dutch, and more difficult to be struggled with; which was the plague, that brake out in the winter, and made such an early progress in the spring, that though the weekly numbers did not rise high, and it appeared to be only in the outskirts of the town, and in the most obscure alleys, amongst the poorest people; yet the ancient men, who well remembered in what manner the last great plague (which had been near forty years before) first brake out, and the progress it afterwards made, foretold a terrible summer. And many of them removed their families out of the city to country habitations; when their neighbours laughed at their providence, and thought they might have stayed without danger: but they found shortly that they had done wisely. In March it spread so much, that the parliament was very willing to part: which was likewise the more necessary, in regard that so many of the members of the house of commons were assigned to so many offices and employments which related to the war, and which required their immediate attendance. For though the fleet was not yet gone out, yet there were many prizes daily brought in, besides the first seizure, which by this time was [adjudged] lawful prize; in all which great loss was sustained by the licence of officers as well as common men, and the absence of such as should restrain and punish it: so that, as soon as the bill was passed the houses for the good aid they had given the king, and was ready for the royal assent, his

majesty passed it, and prorogued the parliament in April (which was in 1665) till September following; his majesty declaring, "that if it pleased God to extinguish or allay the fierceness of the plague," which at that time raged more, "he should be glad to meet them then; by which time they would judge by some success of the war, what was more to be done. But if that visitation increased, they should have notice by proclamation that they might not hazard themselves."

597 The parliament being thus prorogued, there was the same reason to hasten out the fleet; towards which the duke left nothing undone, which his unwearied industry and example could contribute towards [it], being himself on board, and having got all things necessary into his own ship that he cared for. But he found that it was absolutely requisite to put out to sea, though many things were wanting in other ships, even of beer and other provision of victual; not only to be before the enemy, but [because] he saw it would be impossible, whilst the ships were in port, to keep the seamen from going on shore, by which they might bring the plague on board with them; and there was already a suspicion that the infection was got into one of the smaller ships.

598 It hath been said before, that all things relating to the fleet were upon the matter wholly governed by Mr. Coventry. It is very true, that the officers of the navy constantly attended the duke together with those three sea-captains who have been named before: but from the time that the war was declared, his highness consulted daily, for his own information and instruction, with sir John Lawson and sir George Ayscue and sir William Pen, all men of great experience, and who had commanded in several battles. Upon the advice of these men the duke always made his estimates and all propositions to the king. There was somewhat of rivalry between the two last, because they had been in equal command: therefore

the duke took sir William Pen into his own ship, and made him captain of it; which was a great trust, and a very honourable command, that exempted him from receiving any orders but from the duke, and so extinguished the other emulation, the other two being flag-officers and to command several squadrons.

599 In all conferences with these men Mr. Coventry's presence and attendance was necessary, both to reduce all things into writing which were agreed upon, and to be able to put the duke in mind of what he was to do. Lawson was the man of whose judgment the duke had the best esteem; and he was in truth, of a man of that breeding, (for he was a perfect tarpawlin,) a very extraordinary person; he understood his profession incomparably well, spake clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciously enough when he was contradicted. Ayscue was a gentleman, but had kept ill company too long, which had blunted his understanding, if it had been ever sharp: he was of few words, yet spake to the purpose and to be easily understood. Pen, who had much the worst understanding, had a great mind to appear better bred, and to speak like a gentleman; he had got many good words, which he used at adventure; he was a formal man, and spake very leisurely but much, and left the matter more intricate and perplexed than he found it. He was entirely governed by Mr. Coventry, who still learned enough of him to offer any thing rationally in the debate, or to cross what was not agreeable to his own fancy, by which he was still swayed out of the pride and perverseness of his will.

600 Upon debate and conference with these men, the duke brought propositions to the king reduced into writing by Mr. Coventry; and the king commonly consulted them with the lord treasurer in [his] presence, the propositions being commonly for increase of the expense, which Mr. Coventry was solicitous by all the ways possible to con-

trive. To those consultations the duke always brought the sea officers, and Mr. Coventry, who spake much more than they, to explain especially what sir William Pen said, who took upon himself to speak most, and often what the others had never thought though they durst not contradict; and sir John Lawson often complained, “that Mr. Coventry put that in writing which had never been proposed by them, and would continue disputing it till they yielded.” Every conference raised the charge very much; and what they proposed yesterday as enough was to-day made twice as much; if they proposed six fire-ships to be provided, within two or three days they demanded twelve: so there could be no possible computation of the charge.

601 By this means the fleet that was now ready to put to sea amounted to fourscore sail; and the king willingly consented, upon the reasons the duke presented to him, that they should set sail as soon as was possible. And before the end of April the duke was with the whole fleet at sea, and visited the coast of Holland, and took many ships in their view, their fleet being not yet in readiness. Many noblemen, the earl of Peterborough, the lord viscount Ferrers, and others, with many gentlemen of quality, went as volunteers, and were distributed into the several ships with much countenance by the duke, and as many taken into his own ship as could be done with convenience.

602 The duke of Buckingham had from the first mention of the war, which he promoted all he could, declared “that he would make one in it:” and when it was declared, he desired to have the command of a ship, which the duke positively denied to give him, except the king commanded it, (and his majesty was content to refer that, as he did the nomination of all the other officers, to his brother,) and did not think fit that a man, of what quality soever, who had never been at sea, should his first voyage have

the command of any considerable ship, (and a small one had not been for his honour;) at which he was much troubled. Yet his friends told him that he was too far engaged, to stay at home when his royal highness ventured his own person: and thereupon he resolved to go a volunteer, and put himself on board a flag-ship, the captain whereof was in his favour. And then he desired, “that in respect of his quality, and his being a privy counsellor, he might be present in all councils of war.” The duke thought this not reasonable, and would not make a new precedent. There were many of the ancient nobility, earls and barons, who were then on board as volunteers; and if the consideration of quality might entitle them to be present in council, all orders would be broken, there being none called but flag-officers: and therefore his royal highness positively refused to gratify him in that point; which the duke of Buckingham thought (it being enough known that the duke had neither esteem or kindness for him) to be such a personal disobligation, that would well excuse him for declining the enterprise. And pretending that he did appeal to the king in point of right, he left the fleet, and returned to the shore to complain. And we return back too to the view of other particulars.

- 603 There were two persons, whom the king and his brother did desire to make remarkable by some extraordinary favours: one of which was equally grateful to both, sir Charles Berkley, who had been lately created an Irish viscount by the name of lord Fitzharding, the old and true surname of the family; upon whom the king had, for reasons only known to himself, set his affection so much, that he had never denied any thing he asked for himself or for any body else, and was well content that he should be looked upon as his favourite. He had been long thought so to the duke, who was willing to promote any thing to his advantage: and the king had deferred those instances only till the parliament should be prorogued,

lest it should raise the appetites of others to make suits, which he had hitherto defended himself from, by declaring he would make no more lords. But the parliament was no sooner prorogued, than it was resolved to be put in execution: and when it was to be done, the chancellor had the honour to be present alone with the king and duke, when it seemed to be first thought of. And when the duke proposed it as a suit to the king, that he would make the lord Fitzharding an earl, extolling his courage and affection to the king; [he] was pleased with the motion to that degree, that he extolled him with praises which could be applied to few men: and it was quickly resolved that he should be an earl of England, and a title was as soon found out; and so he was created earl of Falmouth, before he had one foot of land in the world.

604 And to gratify the king for this favour, the duke likewise proposed that the king would make sir Harry Bennet a lord, whom all the world knew he did not care for; which was as willingly granted: and he had no more estate than the other, and could not so easily find a title for his barony. But because he had no mind to retain his own name, which was no good one, his first warrant was to be created Cheney, which was an ancient barony expired, and to which family he had not the least relation: and for some days upon the signing the warrant he was called lord Cheney, until a gentleman of the best quality in Buckinghamshire, who, though he had no title to the barony, was yet of the same family, and inherited most part of the estate, which was very considerable, and was married to a daughter of the duke of Newcastle, heard of it, and made haste to stop it. He went first to sir Harry Bennet himself, and desired him “not to affect a title to which he had no relation; and to which though he could not pretend of direct right, yet he was not [so] obscure but that himself or a son of his might hereafter be thought worthy of it by the crown; and in that respect it would be some trouble to him to see it vested in the family of a

stranger." The secretary did not give him so civil an answer as he expected, having no knowledge of the gentleman. Yet shortly after, upon information of his condition and quality, (as he was in all respects very worthy of consideration,) the patent being not yet prepared, he was contented to take the title of a little farm that had belonged to his father and was sold by him, and now in the possession of another private person; and so was created lord Arlington, the proper and true name of the place being Harlington, a little village between London and Uxbridge.

605 The king took the occasion to make these two noblemen from an obligation that lay upon him to confer two honours at the same time; the one upon Mr. Frescheville, of a very ancient family in Derbyshire, and a fair estate, who had been always bred in the court, a menial servant of the last king, and had served him in the head of a troop of horse raised at his own charge in the war, and whom his late majesty had promised to make a baron.

606 The other was Mr. Richard Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall, a gentleman as well known by what he had done and suffered in the late time, as by the eminency of his family, and the fortune he was still master of after the great depredation of the time. John Arundel, his father, was of the best interest and estate of the gentlemen of Cornwall: and in the beginning of the troubles, when the lord Hopton and the other gentlemen with him were forced to retire into Cornwall, he and his friends supported them, and gave the first turn and opposition to the current of the parliament's usurpation; and to them, their courage and activity, all the success that the lord Hopton had afterwards was justly to be imputed as to the first rise. The old gentleman was then above seventy years of age, and infirm; but all his sons he engaged in the war: the two eldest were eminent officers, both members of the house of commons, and the more zealous soldiers by having been witnesses of the naughty proceedings of

those who had raised the rebellion. The eldest was killed in the head of his troop, charging and driving back a bold sally that was made out of Plymouth when it was besieged: and this other gentleman of whom we now speak, and who was then the younger brother, was an excellent colonel of foot to the end of the war.

607 When sir Nicholas Slanning, who was governor of Pendennis, lost his life bravely in the siege of Bristol, the king knew not into what hands to commit that important place so securely, as by sending a commission to old John Arundel of Trerice to command, well knowing that it must be preserved principally by his interest; and in respect of his age joined his eldest son with him: and after his death he added the younger brother to the command, of whom we are speaking, who was in truth then looked upon as the most powerful person in that county.

608 When the king, then prince, was compelled, after almost the whole west was lost, to retire into Cornwall, he remained in Pendennis castle, and from thence made his first embarkation to Scilly: and at parting, out of a princely sense of the affection and service of that family, he took the old gentleman aside, and in the presence of his son wished him "to defend the place as long as he could, because relief might come, of which there was some hope from abroad;" and promised him, "if he lived to come back into England, he would make him a baron; and if he were dead, he would make it good to his son." The old man behaved him bravely to his death, having all his estate taken from him; and his son remained as eminently faithful, and had as deep marks of it as any man: so that at the king's return, who never forgot his promise, he might have received the effect of it in the first creation, if he had desired it; but he chose rather to recover the bruises his fortune had endured by seizures and sequestrations, before he would embark him in a condition that must presently raise his expense in his way of living.



And as soon as he found himself at ease in that respect he got a friend to inform the king, “that he was ready to receive his bounty.”

609 And his majesty, being under these two obligations, was willing to take the same opportunity to prefer the two other persons he loved so well. But at the same time that he declared his resolution for the last two, (but what concerned the others had been long known and expected,) his majesty reflected upon the number of the house of peers, which was in many respects found grievous, and declared to his brother and the chancellor, who were only present, “that no importunity should prevail with him to make any more lords in many years, and till the present number should be lessened;” in which resolution the duke willingly concurred, and protested “that he would never more importune him in that point.” The reason of mentioning this declaration and resolution will appear hereafter. This creation was no sooner over, than the new earl of Falmouth went with the duke to sea: for though his relation was now immediately to the king and near his person, yet he thought himself obliged not to be from the duke when he was to be engaged in so much danger; and he was confessed by all men to abound in a most fearless courage.

610 It will not be unseasonable in this place to take a view of an act of state that passed about this time, and which afterwards administered matter of reproach against the chancellor, and was made use of by his enemies as an evidence of his corruption; for the better understanding whereof, it will be necessary to begin the relation from the original ground of the counsel. About the first Christmas after the king’s happy return into England, the chancellor, treasurer, privy seal, and the two chief justices (being the persons appointed by the statute for that purpose) met together to set the prices upon the several sorts of wines; and were attended, according to

custom, by the company of vintners, and the chief merchants in the city who traded in that commodity. And being first to limit the merchants to a reasonable rate, before they could prescribe any price to the vintners upon the retail, they found, by the best inquiry they could make, that the first prices beyond the seas which the merchants paid for their wines were so excessive, that the retail could not be brought within any compass; and that since the beginning of the troubles the price of wines in general was exceedingly increased, and particularly that of the Canaries was almost double to what it had been in the year 1640.

611 The chancellor knew very well, by the correspondence he had held in the Canaries, (during the time that he had served his majesty as his ambassador in Spain,) that the whole trade for the Canary wine was driven solely by the English, and the commodity entirely vended in the king's dominions, all Christendom beside not spending any quantity of that wine: and thereupon he asked the merchants "whether what he had reported was not true, and what would be the way to remedy that mischief."

612 They all confessed it to be very true, and "that it was a great reproach to the nation to be so much imposed upon in a trade that they might govern themselves: and that the unreasonable prices of the wine were not the greatest prejudice that was befallen that trade. That before the troubles they had been so far from employing any stock of money for the support of that traffick, that they used to send their ships fully laden with all commodities thither, which yielded very good markets, being sent from thence into the West Indies with their Plate fleets; and that the very pipe-staves which they carried did very near supply the value of their wine, so that they brought home the proceed of their commodities either in pieces of eight, or such other merchandizes as had been brought thither from the Indies, and upon which they

received great profit. On the contrary, that the trade was now wholly driven by ready money ; that the commodities they send thither are not taken off, except at their own prices, so that they have for the late years sent their vessels empty thither, except only with some few pipe-staves, which by the destruction in Ireland they could not send in any great proportion ; and that their ships return from thence with no other lading but those wines, which they trade for in ready money, either by pieces of eight sent in their ships from hence, or by bills of exchange charged upon some known merchants in Spain. That over and above these disadvantages, the Spaniards in those islands had of late imposed new duties upon the wine, and laid other impositions upon the merchants than the English nation had been ever accustomed to." They said, "all these inconveniences proceeded from the immoderate appetite this nation hath for that sort of wine, and therefore they take from them as much as they can make ; and from our own disorder and irregularity in buying them, and contending who shall get the most, and so raising the price upon one another, and making the Spaniards themselves the judges what the merchants shall pay."

- 613 The lords, upon consultation between themselves, found the matter too hard for them, and that the reformation of so much evil must be made by degrees, and upon a representation of the whole, with the difficulties which attended it, to the king and his privy-council, whose wisdom only could provide a remedy proportionable to the mischiefs. For the present, as they resolved not to raise the prices at which wine was at that time bought and sold, (which they believed, how reasonably soever it might be done, would yet be very unpopular,) so they thought it not just to draw down and abate those prices, since it appeared to them that the wines cost more in proportion upon the places of their growth. They declared

therefore to the merchants and to the vintners, "that though for the present they would permit the same prices to continue for the next year, which they had been sold for the present year," and which indeed were confirmed by the late act of parliament, "they should hereafter take care what markets they made; for that they were resolved the next year to make the prices much lower both to the merchant and to the vintner:" and so, upon the report made by the lords of the whole matter to the king in council, and of what they thought fit to be done for the present, a proclamation was published accordingly.

614 The next year both the merchants and vintners were very earnest suitors to the lords at their accustomed meeting, that greater prices might be allowed, or at least that the same might be continued; making it very evident, that their wines cost them more than they had done the year before. Upon the debate the Canary merchants were much divided. Some of them insisted very importunately to have the price raised, "because it was notorious that they had paid much more than formerly, by reason," as they alleged, "that the vintage had not yielded near the proportion that it used to do." Others, though confessing the increase of price, yet pretended a more public spirit and the necessity of a reformation: and therefore they pressed as earnestly, "that the price might not be raised, but that they might be permitted to take what they had done already for this year." It was quickly discovered whence this moderation proceeded; and that the last proposers had a great quantity of wine upon their hands, which had been provided the year before, and so might well be sold at the same price; but that the former had no old wine left, but were supplied with a full provision of new, which had cost them so much dearer. Both the one and the other desired the lords, "that whatever resolution they took for the present, a clause might be inserted in the proclamation, that, the

next year which followed, Canary wine should not be sold for above four and twenty pounds the pipe, and that every year after it should be drawn lower," as it might well be, it having been sold in the year 1640 for twenty pounds the pipe; though, in the year when his majesty returned, it had been permitted to be sold at six and thirty pounds the pipe. "Such a clause," they said, "would give notice to the islanders, and oblige them to sell their wines at more reasonable rates, and would render the merchants unexcusable if they should give greater." Notwithstanding all their allegations, the lords remembered what they had declared to them the last year, which was as fair a warning as any thing they could now say would be. And accordingly they set lower prices upon all wines for the year to come than had been allowed the last, as the most effectual warning for the future: which was thought a very rigorous proceeding; but being reported to the king and council, what they had done was allowed and confirmed, and his majesty was well contented that such a clause as they had proposed should be inserted in the proclamation; which was accordingly done.

- 615 The year following, when the lords met again according to custom, which is, as hath been said, about Christmas, they found not the least reformation; on the contrary, that the Canary merchants had paid dearer than ever, which made them all more solicitous to have the price raised, and the vintners as importunate for their retail. And indeed the vintners seemed to be in a much worse condition than the merchants. And they made it appear, "that they were often compelled to pay higher prices to the merchants than [were] imposed by their lordships; without which they could get no good wine, and so must give over their keeping house: that the penalty upon the merchant was very small, being not above forty shillings a pipe, and the crime not easy to be discovered, as was evident by there not having been one merchant ques-

tioned in many years for that common transgression ; whereas on the vintner's part the penalty was very severe, and easily discovered by any man who went to a tavern and would be an informer, and that most of the vintners in London were at that very time sued in the exchequer upon those very penalties, which, if exacted, must produce their ruin."

616 The merchants excused themselves for their present pretence, and for their having given more for their wines than was lawful for them to have done by their own desire : "that they had done their best, and that the greatest traders amongst them had consented between themselves not to suffer the prices to be raised upon them ; but that they found it ineffectual, and that though they should give over their trades, it would produce no reformation. That the trade was open to all adventurers, and that there had been many ships sent from England in that very year by Jews, and people of several trades, who had never been before known to trade to the Canaries : insomuch as when they who had been long bred up to the trade, and had been long factors in those islands, sent their ships thither, they found other English ships there, and the wines bought at a greater price than they had allowed their factors to give ; so that they must either have their ships return empty and unladen, or take the wines at the prices other men gave. That they had chosen the latter, as well to continue their trade, as to draw home some part of the stock they had in that country. That they could imagine but two ways to reform that excess : the one, by putting the trade into such a method [and] under such rules, as might restrain that licence, and not leave it in the power of persons who never had been in the trade to give the law to it ; and by this means the islanders would find it necessary to set reasonable prices upon their commodities, and to yield such other advantages and privileges to the merchants as

they had heretofore enjoyed. The other, that the king would by his proclamation prohibit the importation of any Canary wines into his dominions: and hereby he would quickly receive such propositions from Spain, as would put it into his own power to make the reformation; otherwise the islanders had been persuaded that England could not live without their wines."

617 The lords were resolved, notwithstanding all that had been said; that they would execute the former proclamation, and reduce the prices of wines to what had been then determined: and after they had given a full account of the whole business to the king in council, the resolution was approved, and a proclamation was issued out to that purpose. The merchants and vintners applied themselves to his majesty, and to many of the lords of the council, and thought they had encouragement enough to hope for a relief in an appeal to the king and council by petition; and they had thereupon a day assigned to be heard. Many of the lords thought it very hard, if not unjust, to compel men to sell cheaper than they bought, which was the truth of the case, and which must oblige both merchants and vintners to sophisticate and corrupt their wines to preserve their estates; which might probably turn to the great damage of the whole kingdom, in producing sickness and diseases: and this charitable and generous consideration prevailed with the major part of the lords to be well contented, and to wish that some indulgence might be exercised towards them. On the contrary, when the king had well weighed the whole proceedings, and with trouble and indignation considered the obstinate vice of the nation, which made it ridiculous to all the world, he expressed a positive resolution to vindicate himself and his government from this reproach. He thought the adhering firmly to the prices which had been resolved upon by the lords would be the best preface to this reformation, though it might be attended with

particular damage to particular persons, who had yet less cause to complain, because their own advice had been followed. And thereupon his majesty declared, “that he would make no alteration;” but withal told them, “that if they could make any proposition to him for the better regulation of the trade,” (for they had themselves mentioned a charter,) “he would graciously receive any propositions they would make, and gratify them in what was just:” and so, notwithstanding all attempts which were often repeated, the price set by the lords was ratified for the year following.

618 Shortly after, many of the merchants who had always traded to the Canaries did petition the king, “that they might be incorporated; and that none might be permitted to trade thither but such who would be of that corporation, and observe the constitutions which should be made by them:” which petition was presented to the king at the council-board; and being read, his majesty (according to his custom in matters of difficulty and public concernment) directed it to be read again on that day month, at which time his majesty presumed that all who would oppose it would present their reasons and objections against it, which he desired to hear. At the day appointed, though there was no petition against it, yet it was observed that there were many of the most eminent merchants of that trade, whose names were not to the petition, nor [who] otherwise appeared desirous to have a charter granted: which his majesty considering, he put off the debate for another week, and directed “that the other merchants by name should be desired to be present, and to give their advice freely upon the point.”

619 And there was at that day a very full appearance; when his majesty directed, “that a relation should be made to them of the whole progress that had been in the business, and the damage and dishonour the nation underwent in the carrying on that trade: that many merchants



had presented a petition to him, containing an expedient to bring it into better order; but finding them not to appear in it, and being informed that they were best acquainted with and most engaged in that trade, he had sent for them to know their opinion, whether they thought what was proposed to be reasonable and fit to be granted, and if so, why they did not concern themselves in it." They answered, "that the reason why they had not appeared in it was, because they thought they should be losers by it, and therefore were not solicitous to procure a grant from his majesty to their own damage;" and so enlarged "upon the nature of the trade, their long experience in it, and the greatness of their stock, which they should not be allowed to continue under any regulation. But as they did not think themselves [in a situation] to be solicitous for a change, so they could not deny, being required by his majesty to speak the truth, but that the proposition that was made was for the public good and benefit of the kingdom, and that they conceived no other way to redeem that trade, and the nation from the insolence which the Spaniard exercised upon them;" implying, "that if his majesty would command them, they would likewise concur and join in the carrying on the service." To which his majesty giving them gracious encouragement, they all seemed to depart of one mind; and his majesty remained confirmed in the former opinion he had of it.

620 But there remained yet an objection, which was principally insisted on by the ministers of the revenue, who alleged very reasonably, "that this new-modelling the trade must produce some alteration, and would meet some opposition from the Spaniard, which for the time would lessen the customs and entitle the farmers to a defalcation." The petition was therefore referred to the farmers of the customs, who were to attend the next council-day: and being then called, they did acknowledge,

“ that the design proposed would prove very profitable to the kingdom in many respects,” upon which they enlarged, “ and that in the end it would not be attended with any diminutions of the customs; but for the present,” they said, “ they could not but expect, that the obstinacy and contradiction of the Spaniard would give such a stop to trade, at least for one year, that if his majesty did not reimburse them for what should fall short in the receipt of custom, they must look to be very great losers.” The merchants on the other hand offered to be bound, that if they did not the first year bring in as much as had been usually entered, they would make good what should be wanting to the farmers upon a medium.” Whereupon his majesty himself declared, “ that he would not, for a small damage to himself, hinder the kingdom from enjoying so great a benefit:” and he commanded his solicitor general, who then attended the board, “ to prepare such a charter as might provide for all those good ends which were desired in the petition,” and which had been so largely debated; and it was notorious, that there had never been a greater concurrence of the board in any direction.

621 Many months passed before the charter was prepared; in which time there was never the least new objection made against it, nor was it known that any man was unsatisfied with it. After it was engrossed and had passed the king's hand, it was brought to the great seal; and there the lord mayor of London and the court of aldermen had entered a caveat to stop the passing of it. The chancellor, according to course, appointed a time when he would hear all parties. The city alleged an order made a year or two before by the king in council, upon a complaint then exhibited by the court of aldermen against the Turkey company and other corporations, “ in which,” they said, “ there were very many merchants of the best trade and of the greatest estates in the city, who would

never take out their freedom, and so refused to bear any charge or office in it, to the very great prejudice and dishonour of the city and of the government thereof; since they were thereby compelled to call inferior citizens to be aldermen, before they had estates to bear the charge of it, whilst the gravest and the richest men, who were most fit, could not be obliged to accept of it, because they were not freemen." The persons concerned, which were indeed a great number of very valuable and substantial men and of great estates, answered, "that they had traded very many years without finding any reason to take out their freedom, which they might do or not do as they thought best for themselves; that they had always paid scot and lot in the several parishes where they lived with the highest of the inhabitants, and were taxed the more because they had not taken out their freedom, they who taxed them being always freemen; that they were grown old now, and had no mind to become young freemen, but would rather give over their trade, and retire into the country where they had estates.

622 Besides the rules which the king gave upon the difference then in question, he was pleased to declare, and appointed it to be entered as an order in the council book, "that care should be taken, that in all charters which he should hereafter renew or grant to any companies or corporations in the city of London, they should first make themselves freemen of the city; by which they might be liable to the charges of it, as other citizens are." They said, "that there were many of this company that was now to be incorporated who were not freemen:" and therefore the lord mayor and court of aldermen desired the benefit of the king's order, which was read.

623 The merchants confessed, "that many of them were not freemen, and resolved not to be:" they said, "they had never heard of this order, and were sorry that they had spent so much money to no purpose." The chancellor

declared to them, "that he could not seal their charter till they had complied with the king's determination, and given the court of aldermen satisfaction:" and they all seemed as positive that they would rather be without their charter, than they would submit to the other inconveniences: and so they departed. But after some days' deliberation and consultation between themselves, and when they found that there was no possibility to procure a dispensation from that order, they treated with the city, and agreed with them in the preparing a clause to be inserted in their charter, by which they were obliged in so many years to become freemen; which clause, being approved by all parties, was in the king's presence entered in the bill that his majesty had signed, and being afterwards added to the engrossment, it was again thus reformed and sent to the great seal, and presented to the chancellor to be sealed.

624 There were by this time several new caveats entered against it at the seal; all which the chancellor heard, and settled every one of them to the joint satisfaction of all parties, and all caveats were withdrawn. There was then a rumour, that there would be some motions made against it in the house of commons: and some parliament-men, who served for the western boroughs, came to the chancellor, and desired him "that he would defer the sealing it for some days till they might be heard, since it would undo their western trade; and," they said, "they resolved to move the house of commons to put a stop to it." The chancellor informed them of the whole progress it had passed, and told them, "he believed that they would hardly be able to offer any good reasons against it:" however, since it was then well known that the parliament would be prorogued within ten or twelve days, he said "he would suspend the sealing it till then, to the end that they might offer any objections against it there or any where else." But though the parliament sat longer

than it was then conceived it would have done, there was no mention or notice taken of it: and after the prorogation no application was further made for the stopping it, and the merchants pressed very importunately that it might be sealed, alleging with reason “that the deferring it so long had been very much to their prejudice. Whereupon the chancellor conceived that it would not consist with his duty to delay it longer, and so affixed the great seal to it.

- 625 The company then chose a governor and other officers according to their charter, and made such orders and by-laws as they thought fit for the carrying on and advancement of their trade, which they might alter when they thought convenient; and for the present they resolved upon a joint stock, and assigned so many shares to each particular man. In this composition and distribution there fell out some difference between themselves, which could not be taken notice of abroad: and even some of them, who first petitioned and were most solicitous to procure the charter, did what they could to hinder the effect of it; sent privately to their factors at the Canaries, “to oppose any orders that should be sent from the governor and the company, and that they should do all they could to incense the Spaniards against the charter,” and bade them promise “that all their wine should be taken off in spite of the corporation.” Whereupon great disorders did arise in the Canaries between the English themselves; and by the conjunction of the Spaniards with those few English who opposed the charter, they proceeded so far as to send the principal factors for the company out of the island into Spain, and to make a public act by the governor and council there, “that no ship belonging to the company should be suffered to come into the harbour, or to take in any lading from the island:” all which was transacted there many months before it was known in England, and probably would have been prevented or

easily reformed, if it had not pleased God that the plague at this time spread very much in London, and if the war with the Dutch had not restrained all English ships from going to the Canaries for the space of a year; which intermission, not to be prevented nor in truth foreseen, gave some advantage to the merchants at home who opposed their charter, who complained for the not-return of their several stocks within the time that the company had promised they should be returned.

626 I am not willing to resume this discourse in another place, which I should be compelled to do if I discontinued the relation in this place, as in point of time I should do; but I choose rather to insert here what fell out afterwards, and to finish the account of that affair, that there may be no occasion in the current of this narration to mention any particulars that related to it.

627 When the king was at Oxford, and was informed of what had passed at the Canaries, some merchants appeared there to petition against the charter, whereof there were some who were the first petitioners for it. His majesty appointed a day for the solemn hearing it in the presence of his privy-council, the governor being likewise summoned and present there. Upon opening all their grievances the petitioners themselves confessed, "that they could not complain of the charter; that it was a just and necessary charter, and for the great benefit of the kingdom, though some private men might for the present be losers by it: that their complaint was only against their constitutions and by-laws, and the severe prosecution thereupon contrary to the intention of the charter itself;" instancing, amongst other things, "the very short day limited by the charter, after which they could not continue their trade without being members of the corporation; and that day was so soon after the sealing the charter, that it was not possible for them to draw their stocks from thence in so short a time."

628 When they had finished all their objections, the king observed to them, “that they complained only of what themselves had done, and not at all of the charter, which gave them only authority to choose a governor, and to make constitutions and by-laws, but directed not what the constitutions and by-laws should be, which were the result of their own consultations, in which the major part must have concurred; and of that kind the resolution for a joint stock was one, which and all the rest they might alter again at the next court, if the major part were grieved with it.” But because they had complained of some particulars, in which they might have reason on their side, his majesty expressed a willingness to mediate and to make an agreement between them: and thereupon he required the governor to answer such and such particulars which seemed to have most of justice; but the governor answered all at large, and made it clearly appear, that they had in truth no cause of complaint. As to the short day that was assigned for the drawing away their stocks, which had the greatest semblance of reason in all they complained of, he said, “they had no reason to mention their want of warning, for that the day was well enough known to them long before the sealing the charter, and might very well have been complied with,” (the reasons why the sealing the charter was so long deferred are set down before,) “and could be no reason to them to neglect the giving direction in their own concerns; but that they knew likewise, that the day was enlarged to a day desired by themselves, that there might be no pretence for discontent:” and thereupon the order of the court to that purpose was read to his majesty, and they could not deny it to be true.

629 In conclusion, since it did appear that their stock did in truth still remain in the Canaries, and in justice belonged to them, whether it was their fault or their misfortune that it had not been drawn over in time; the

king persuaded the governor and his assistants to give them such satisfaction in that and other particulars, that before they retired from his majesty's presence they were unanimously agreed upon all their pretences: and though some of the lords, upon some insinuations and discourses which they had heard, had believed the company to have been in the wrong, they were now fully convinced of the contrary, and believed the charter to be founded upon great reason of state, and that the execution of it had been very justifiable and with great moderation. And it is to be observed, that the parliament being then assembled at Oxford, there was not the least complaint against that charter or corporation.

630 And this was the whole progress of that affair, until it served some men's turns to make it afterwards matter of reproach to the chancellor, in a time when he had too great a weight of the king's displeasure upon him to defend himself from that and other calumnies, which few men thought him guilty of. And if the motives of state were not of weight enough to support the patent, more ought not to be objected to him than to every other counsellor, there having [never] been a more unanimous concurrence at that board in any advice they have given: and the delays he used in the passing the charter after it came to his hand, his giving so long time for the making objections against it, and his so positively opposing the company with reference to their being freemen of the city, are no signs that he had such a mind to please them, as a man would have who had been corrupted by them, or who was to have a share in the profit of the patent, as was afterwards suggested, but never believed by any to whom he was in any degree known, who knew well that he frequently refused to receive money that he might very lawfully have done, and never took a penny which he was obliged to refuse. He was indeed, as often as that affair came to be debated, very clear in his judgment



for the king's granting it, and always continued of the same opinion : nor did he ever deny, that some months after the patent was sealed the governor made him a present in the name of the corporation, as it is presumed he did to many other officers through whose hands it passed, and which was never refused by any of his predecessors when it came from a community upon the passing a charter ; which he never concealed from the king, who thought he might well do it. In the last place it is to be remembered, that after all the clamour against this charter in parliament, and upon the arguing against the legality of it by eminent lawyers before the house of peers, it was so well supported by the king's attorney general and other learned lawyers, that the lords would not give judgment against it : but the governor and the corporation durst not dispute it further with the house of commons, but chose to surrender their charter into the king's hands.

631 The French had their ambassador, monsieur Comminge, remaining still in England, who pretended to be ready to finish still the treaty of commerce, but formalized so much upon every article, though nothing was demanded but what had been granted to Cromwell, that it was concluded that he wanted power, though somewhat was imputed to the capriciousness of his nature, which made him hard to treat with, and not always vacant at the hours himself assigned, being hypochondriac and seldom sleeping without opium. As soon as the war was declared, the king of France sent two other ambassadors, whereof, for the countenance and splendour of it, the duke of Vernueil was one, who being uncle to both the kings was received rather under that relation than in the other capacity, and was lodged and treated by the king during the whole time of his stay. With him came likewise monsieur Courtine, a master of requests, and much the quickest man of the three, and upon whose parts and address most of the business depended. The former am-

bassador was joined in commission with the other two : and their declared business was to mediate a peace between the king and the Dutch, when there had been yet little harm done, only great preparations made on both sides for the war ; which they did not seem very solicitous to interrupt, but contented themselves with declaring at their first audience, “ that the king their master out of Christianity, and to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, desired to mediate a peace, which the States of the United Provinces were very [willing] he should do, and professed to have a very great desire of peace ; which made his Christian majesty hope that he should find the same good inclinations here, and if he might be informed what his majesty did require, or what would be grateful to him, he did not doubt but that he should persuade the States to submit to it.”

632 And with this general discourse, and without delivering any memorial in writing, the ambassadors acquiesced for many months, as if their business was only that the Dutch ambassador, who remained still in London, might know and send word to his masters that they had begun their mediation. Otherwise they seemed in all their discourses to make some kind of apology for being sent, implying, “ as if the extraordinary importunity of the Dutch had prevailed with the king to undertake this mediation, and which he did the rather, upon their promise that they would yield to any thing he should advise them ; and he was very far from desiring that his majesty might not receive ample satisfaction in whatsoever he required :” so that the king did not imagine, whatever information he had received before, and whatever jealousy he had entertained, that this embassy would be concluded in the denunciation of a war against him. Nor it is probable that the ambassadors themselves at that time knew that they were to perform that office, though it was afterwards evident that the matter had been long before resolved in

France. They lived between the two courts, for the queen mother was likewise at that time at her palace of Somerset-house, in much jollity, and as vacant from any affairs till they might receive new orders from court, but spending much time with the Dutch ambassador, whom they persuaded “that they were very intent upon and had much advanced the treaty,” as appeared by the ambassador’s letters to the Hague.

633 The plague increased so fast, that the queen mother, who had all the winter complained of her indisposition of health, and declared that she would in the summer go again into France, took that occasion, albeit she was recovered to a very good state; and about the end of July removed and embarked for France, and took so many things with her, that it was thought by many that she did not intend ever to return into England. Whatever her intentions at that time were, she never did see England again, though she lived many years after.

634 It was in April that the duke went to sea: and from the day of his going thither with the fleet, letters and orders came from him to the day of the battle for an addition of more ships, upon intelligence of an increase of strength added to the enemy, though they yet lay still in the harbours, whilst the duke was upon their coasts. But Mr. Coventry still made new demands, and wrote to the chancellor, “that whilst the king’s brother was at sea and ventured his own person, nobody who wished him [well] would, for saving money, hinder any thing from being sent that his highness thought necessary for his defence:” and all things were sent, though procured with wonderful difficulty.

635 The treasurer had believed, when all the provisions were delivered which had been demanded, and all computations satisfied which had been made, and the fleet at sea, that there would have been no more expense till its return; whereas every day added new expense which had

not been thought of: and the requiring of more ships was then believed, and more afterwards, to proceed from the restless spirit of Mr. Coventry, who cared not to increase the expense, and was willing to put the treasurer and all the king's ministers to contend with all difficulties, that he might reproach their laziness or want of ability. But they did not gratify him in that, but all the ships, and whatever else was sent for, were sent; insomuch as the fleet amounted to no less than one hundred sail, and was now retired, for want of somewhat to do, to our own coast, where they resolved to attend the motion of the enemy: and in this time most of the volunteers, having endured the unpleasantness of the sea above a month, begun to think that the war was not so necessary as they had thought it to be.

636 The duke's family, that was numerous in his own ship, were not at ease, and found less respect from the seamen than they [had] looked for: they grew into factions between themselves, and the earl of Falmouth and Mr. Coventry were rivals who should have most interest in the duke, who loved the earl best, but thought the other the wiser man, who supported Pen (who disoblged all the courtiers) even against the earl, who contemned Pen as a fellow of no sense, and not worthy of the charge and trust that was reposed in him. In this discomposure and having nothing to do, every body grew angry at the occasion that brought them thither, and wished for peace.

637 The earl of Falmouth, as in a time of leisure, was sent by the duke with compliments to the king, and to give him an account of the good state of the fleet: he visited the chancellor, to whom he had always paid great respect and made many professions; and he told him, "that they were all mad who had wished this war, and that himself had been made a fool to contribute to it, but that his eyes were open, and a month's experience at sea had enough informed him of the great hazards the king ran

in it." He reproached Pen "as a sot, and a fellow [that] he thought would be found without courage." He told him, "that the king and the duke too were both inclined to peace, and discerned that the charge and expense of the war would be insupportable;" and concluded, "that as soon as this action should be over, which could not be avoided many days if the Dutch fleet put to sea, as it could not be doubted it would, it would be good time to make a peace, which he desired him to think of, and to speak with the king, whom he would find disposed to it:" and so he returned to the fleet.

638 And by that time the Dutch were come out, and the next day were in view. They were near of equal number, and well manned, under the command of Opdam, the admiral of the whole fleet, upon whom the States had conferred that charge, that the prince of Orange's party might conclude that they never intended that he should have the charges of his father and grandfather, and likewise to gratify the nobility of Holland, that had a very small share in the government. And this gentleman, who had never been at sea before, and had but a small fortune, was of that number, and had joined with that faction which was averse from the family of Orange. The fleets came within sight of each other on the first of June, and had some skirmishes, which continued on the second, the wind favouring neither party, as willing to keep them asunder: but upon the third it served both their turns, and brought them as near each other as they could desire to be.

639 Nor did the Dutch seem to advance with less courage and resolution. Opdam the Dutch admiral with his squadron bore directly upon the duke, with a resolution to board him: but before he came near enough, and very little before, whether by an accident within his own ship, or from a grenado or other shot out of the duke's ship, his gun-room took fire, and in a moment the ship sunk without any man being saved. The vice-admiral of the same

squadron, being a Zelander, pursued the same resolution, and had boarded the duke if captain Jeremy Smith, a captain of the duke's squadron, had not put himself between and boarded the vice-admiral, who was equally attacked by the duke: and so that ship was taken after most of the men were killed; and the captain himself was so wounded, that he only lived to be brought on board the duke's ship, and to complain of his companions "for not having seconded him according to an oath they had taken on board their admiral the day before," and died within half an hour, to the great trouble of the duke, who gave him a great testimony for a very gallant man, and much desired to preserve him.

640 The fight continued all the day with very great loss of men on all sides, though after the first two hours the Dutch, seeing many of their best ships burned and more taken, did all that the wind would give them leave to separate themselves from the English fleet, which pursued them so close, that they found they lost more by flying than by fighting, and did lessen their sails to give some stop to the pursuit till the night might favour them: and the evening no sooner came, but they hoisted up all their sails, and intended nothing but their escape.

641 When there was no more to be done by the approach of the night, the duke, who was infinitely tired with the labour of the day, having lost above two hundred men aboard his own ship, whereof some [were] persons of quality, who stood next his own person, and shall be named anon, was prevailed with to repose himself after he had taken some sustenance; which he did, after he had given the master of the ship, an honest and a skilful seaman, direct and positive charge "to bear up in that manner upon the Dutch fleet that he might lose no ground, but find himself as near, when the day should appear, as he was then when he went to sleep." The fleet had no guide but the lanthorn of the admiral, and

were not to outsail him of course, and behaved themselves accordingly. But when the duke arose and the day appeared, the Dutch fleet was out of view; and before he could reach them, they were got into their ports, or under the shelter of their flats, that it was not counsellable for the great ships to pursue them further: yet some of those ships which made not so much way, or had not steered so directly, were taken by the lesser ships that followed them. And the duke had received so many blows on his own and the other ships, that it was necessary to retire [into] port, where they might be repaired.

- 642 It was a day of signal triumph, the action of it having much surpassed all that was done in Cromwell's time, whose navals were much greater than had ever been in any age: but the Dutch had never then fought with so much courage and resolution; nor were their ships then in strength to be compared to the English, as Van Trump assured them, "and that except they built better ships, they would be as often beaten as they fought with the English." And from that time they new-built all their navy, and brought now with them as good ships as any the king had: and the men for some hours behaved themselves well. In that day the duke sunk, burned, and took eighteen good ships of war, whereof half were of the best they had, with the loss of one single small ship, for there was no more missing of his whole fleet. It is true the number of the killed and wounded men was very great, and was thought the greater, because in the great massacre that was on the other side there was no man, except Opdam their admiral, who had a name. There were many excellent officers killed and taken, men of courage and of great experience in naval affairs, and therefore an irreparable damage to them; but they had grown up from common seamen, and so were of no other quality than every mariner of the fleet.

- 643 On the part of the English, besides above two hundred

men that were killed on board the duke's own ship, there fell the earl of Falmouth, who hath been lately spoken of, and the lord Muskerrey, eldest son to the earl of Clancarty, a young man of extraordinary courage and expectation, who had been colonel of a regiment of foot in Flanders under the duke, and had the general estimation of an excellent officer: he was of the duke's bedchamber, and the earl and he were at that time so near the duke, that his highness was all covered with their blood. There fell likewise in the same ship Mr. Richard Boyle, a younger son of the earl of Burlington, a youth of great hope, who came newly home from travel, where he had spent his time with singular advantage, and took the first opportunity to lose his life in the king's service. There were many other gentlemen volunteers in the same ship, who had the same fate.

- 644 In prince Rupert's ship, who did wonders that day, and in that of the earl of Sandwich, who behaved him with notable courage and conduct, there were very many men slain, and some gentlemen volunteers, of the best families, whose memories should be preserved. The earl of Marlborough, who had the command of one of the best ships, and had great experience at sea, having made many long voyages at sea, and being now newly returned from the East Indies, whither the king had sent him with a squadron of ships to receive the island of Bombayne from Portugal, was in this battle likewise slain. He was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title; and having no great estate descended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation than any fortune could have given him. The earl of Portland was a volunteer on board his ship, and lost his life by his side, being a young man of very good parts, newly come of age, and the son of a very wise and worthy father, who died few months before: and he having a long



and entire friendship with the earl of Marlborough, his son, though of a melancholic nature, intended to lead an active life, and to apply himself to it under the conduct of his father's friend, with whom he died very bravely.

645 . There was another almost irreparable loss this day in sir John Lawson, who was admiral of a squadron, and of so eminent skill and conduct in all maritime occasions, that his counsel was most considered in all debates, and the greatest seamen were ready to receive advice from him. In the middle of the battle he received a shot with a musket-bullet upon the knee, with which he fell : and finding that he could no more stand, and was in great torment, he sent to the duke to desire him to send another man to command his ship ; which he presently did. The wound was not conceived to be mortal ; and they made haste to send him on shore, as far as Deptford or Greenwich, where for some days there was hope of his recovery ; but shortly his wound gangrened, and so he died with very great courage, and profession of an entire duty and fidelity to the king.

646 He was indeed of all the men of that time, and of that extraction and education, incomparably the modestest and the wisest man, and most worthy to be confided in. He was of Yorkshire near Scarborough, of that rank of people who are bred to the sea from their cradle. And a young man of that profession he was, when the parliament first possessed themselves of the royal navy ; and Hull being in their hands, all the northern seamen easily betook themselves to their service : and his industry and sobriety made him quickly taken notice of, and to be preferred from one degree to another, till from a common sailor he was promoted to be a captain of a small vessel, and from thence to the command of the best ships.

647 He had been in all the actions performed by Blake, some of which were very stupendous, and in all the battles which Cromwell had fought with the Dutch, in

which he was a signal officer and very much valued by him. He was of that classis of religion which were called Independents, most of which were anabaptists, who were generally believed to have most aversion to the king, and therefore employed in most offices of trust. He was commander in chief of the fleet when Richard was thrown out: and when the contest grew between the rump and Lambert he brought the whole fleet into the river, and declared for that which was called the parliament; which brake the neck of all other designs, though he intended only the better settlement of the commonwealth.

648 When the council of state was settled between the dissolution of the rump and the calling the parliament, they did not like the temper of the fleet, nor especially of Lawson, who, under the title of vice-admiral, had the whole command of the fleet, which was very strong, and in which there were many captains they liked well: yet they durst not remove the vice-admiral, lest his interest in the seamen, which was very great, should give them new trouble. The expedient they resolved upon was to send colonel Mountague as admiral to command the fleet, without removing Lawson, who continued still in his command, and could not refuse to be commanded by Mountague, who had always been his superior officer, and who had likewise a great interest in very many of the officers and seamen. Yet Mountague, who brought with him a firm resolution to serve the king, which was well known to his majesty, had no confidence in Lawson till the parliament had proclaimed the king: and when he brought the fleet to Scheveling to receive the king, all men looked upon the vice-admiral as a great anabaptist, and not fit to be trusted. But when the king and the duke had conferred with him, they liked him very well: and he was from time to time in the command of vice-admiral in all the fleets which were sent into the Mediterranean. Nor did any man perform his duty better: he caused all persons

how well qualified soever, who he knew were affected to a republic, to be dismissed from the service, and brought very good order into his own ship, and frequented the church-prayers himself, and made all the seamen do so. He was very remarkable in his affection and countenance towards all those who had faithfully served the king, and never commended any body to the duke to be preferred but such ; and performed to his death all that could be expected from a brave and an honest man.

- 649 It looked like some presage that he had of his own death, that before he went to sea he came to the treasurer and the chancellor, to whom he had always borne must respect, and spake to them in a dialect he had never before used, for he was a very generous man, and lived in his house decently and plentifully, and had never made any the least suit or pretence for money. Now he told them, “that he was going upon an expedition in which many honest men must lose their lives : and though he had no apprehension of himself, but that God would protect him as he had often done in the same occasions, yet he thought it became him against the worst to make his condition known to them, and the rather, because he knew he was esteemed generally to be rich.” He said, “in truth he thought himself so some few months since, when he was worth eight or nine thousand pounds : but the marriage of his daughter to a young gentleman in quality and fortune much above him, (Mr. Richard Norton of Southwick in Hampshire, who had fallen in love with her, and his father, out of tenderness to his son, had consented to it,) had obliged him to give her such a portion as might in some degree make her worthy of so great a fortune ; and that he had not reserved so much to himself and wife, and all his other children, which were four or five, as he had given to that daughter.” He desired them therefore, “that if he should miscarry in this enterprise, the king would give his wife two hundred pounds a year

for her life ; if he lived, he desired nothing. He hoped he should make some provision for them by his own industry : nor did he desire any other grant or security for this two hundred pounds yearly, than the king's word and promise, and that they would see it effectual." The suit was so modest, and the ground of making it so just and reasonable, that they willingly informed his majesty of it, who as graciously granted it, and spake himself to him of it with very obliging circumstances ; so that the poor man went very contentedly to his work, and perished as gallantly in it with an universal lamentation. And it is to be presumed that the promise was as well performed to his wife : sure it is, it was exactly complied with whilst either of those two persons had any power.

650 The victory and triumph of that day was surely very great, and a just argument of public joy : how it came to be no greater shall be said anon. And the trouble and grief in many noble families, for the loss of so many worthy and gallant persons, could not but be very lamentable in wives, in fathers and mothers, and the other nearest relations : but no sorrow was equal, at least none so remarkable, as the king's was for the earl of Falmouth. They who knew his majesty best, and had seen how unshaken he had stood in other very terrible assaults, were amazed at the flood of tears he shed upon this occasion. The immenseness of the victory, and the consequences that might have attended it ; the safety and preservation of his brother with so much glory, on whose behalf he had had so terrible apprehensions during the three days' fight, having by the benefit of the wind heard the thunder of the ordnance from the beginning, even after by the lessening of the noise, as from a greater distance, he concluded that the enemy was upon flight : yet all this, and the universal joy that he saw in the countenance of all men for the victory and the safety of the duke, made no impression in him towards the mitigation

of his passion for the loss of this young favourite, in whom few other men had ever observed any virtue or quality which they did not wish their best friends without; and very many did believe that his death was a great ingredient and considerable part of the victory. He was young and of insatiable ambition; and a little more experience might have taught him all things which his weak parts were capable of. But they who observed the strange degree of favour he had on the sudden arrived to, even from a detestation the king had towards him, and concluded from thence, and more from the deep sorrow the king was possessed with for his death, to what a prodigious height he might have reached in a little time more, were not at all troubled that he was taken out of the way.

651 The duke, after he had given directions for the speedy repairing of the fleet, and for the present sending out such ships as could quickly be made ready to [ride] before the coast of Holland, made haste to present himself to the king, and to the queen his mother, who was ready to begin her journey to France, and had stayed some days to see the success of the naval fight, and afterwards to see the duke; and within few days after his arrival her majesty left the kingdom.

652 And now the whisper began in the duke's family of the reason, why the victory, after so great advantages, had not been pursued with that vigour that might have made it more destructive to the enemy than it proved to be. The master of the duke's ship (captain ..... ) pursued his orders very punctually after the duke was gone to sleep, and kept within a just distance of the Dutch fleet that remained in order together, for many fled in confusion and singly to that part of the coast that they thought they knew best; and many of them were taken. But the duke was no sooner in sleep, but Mr. Brounker of his bedchamber, who with wonderful confusion had sustained

the terror of the day, resolved to prevent the like on the day succeeding. He first went to sir William Pen, who commanded the ship, and told him, "that he knew well how miraculously the duke was preserved that day, and that they ought not further to tempt God;" wished him to remember, "that the duke was not only the king's brother, but the heir apparent of the crown, and what the consequence would be if he should be lost. And therefore it would concern him not to suffer the duke's known and notorious courage to engage him in a new danger, which he would infallibly be [exposed to] the next morning, if they continued to make so much sail as they did, and to keep so near the Dutch, who fled, but if they were pressed and in despair would fight as stoutly as they had done in the beginning. And therefore he desired and advised him to give the master order to slacken the sails, that the Dutch might get what ground they could, to avoid a further encounter." Pen answered him honestly, and told him, "he durst give no such orders, except he had a mind to be hanged, for the duke had himself given positive charge to the contrary."

653 Mr. Brounker, when he could not prevail there, confidently went to the master of the ship, who was an honest and a stout man, and carefully kept the steerage himself, that he might be sure to observe the order he had received from his highness, and told him, "that it was the duke's pleasure that he should slack the sails, without taking notice of it to any man." Whereupon the master did as he was commanded, making no doubt that a servant so near the person of his highness, and in so much favour with him, would [not] have brought such an order without due authority.

654 And by this means the remainder of the fleet escaped, which otherwise would probably have been all taken: for it was afterwards known, that there was such a confusion amongst the officers, that nobody would obey; for though

in truth the right of commanding, according to the course observed amongst them, after the death of Opdam, was in the vice-admiral of Zealand, yet, he being likewise killed, the other could not agree. But young Trump, the son of the old famous admiral, who had behaved himself very bravely all the day, challenged the command in the right of Holland; but John Everston of Zealand, brother to him that was killed, required it as his right: which begat so great an animosity as well as confusion amongst them, that the morning, if they had been pursued, would in all probability have [proved] as dismal to them as the day before had done.

655 But the duke never suspected this, nor did any presume to tell him of it, which made many men presume that it was done with the privity of Mr. Coventry, not only for the great friendship between him and Brounker, but because both Pen and the master were so silent when the duke was so much troubled the next morning: nor did the duke come to hear of it till some years after, when Mr. Brounker's ill course of life and his abominable nature had rendered him so odious, that it was taken notice of in parliament, and upon examination found to be true, as is here related; upon which he was expelled the house of commons, whereof he was a member, as an infamous person, though his friend Coventry adhered to him, and used many indirect arts to have protected him, and afterwards procured him to have more countenance from the king than most men thought he deserved, being a person throughout his whole life never notorious for any thing but the highest degree of impudence, and stooping to the most infamous offices, and playing very well at chess, which preferred him more than the most virtuous qualities could have done.

656 With this victory a new vast charge and expense (beside the repairing the hurt ships, masts, and rigging,

and fitting out new ships of war, and buying more fire-ships) appeared, that was never foreseen or brought into any computation ; which was a provision for sick and wounded men, which amounted to so great a number upon all the coast, that the charge amounted in all places, notwithstanding the general charity of the people, and the convenience that many hospitals yielded, to above two thousand pounds the week for some weeks, and though less afterwards by the death and recovery of many, yet continued very great ; besides the charge of keeping the Dutch prisoners, which were above two thousand, and every day increased.

657 The duke was very impatient to repair and set out the fleet again to sea, and resolved nothing more than to go in person again to command it, his family remaining still on board, and preparing such things as were wanting for his accommodation : but the queen mother had prevailed with the king at parting to promise her, “ that the duke should not go again in person in that expedition ; ” which was concealed from the duke, his majesty believing that the confidence of his royal highness’s going contributed very much to the setting out the fleet, as it did so much, that but for that, it had been impossible to have procured so much money as was with infinite difficulty procured, to satisfy the expenses of so many kinds, whereof many had been unthought of. And towards this there was a benefit that flowed from a fountain of extreme misery, which was the increase of the plague, which spread so fast that the king’s staying so long in town was very dangerous. Yet the approach of this great calamity, that in other respects produced great mischiefs, advanced the present enterprise : for all people who had money knew not what to do with it, not daring to leave it in their houses where they durst not stay themselves ; so [that] they willingly put it into the bankers’ hands, who



supplied the king upon such assignations as the late act of parliament and other branches of the king's revenue would yet bear.

658 And if at this time the French ambassadors had pursued their office of mediation, it is very probable that it might have been with success. For besides the great loss the Dutch had received in the battle and in their being deprived of so many of the merchants' ships, the factions were irreconcilable in the fleet: there were many officers who had behaved themselves very basely and cowardly in the action, but they knew not how to punish them; Everston and Trump, who were their best seamen, would not submit to be commanded by each other; the people were ready to rise upon De Wit, upon whom they looked as the occasion of the war, and cried aloud for peace. And the faction amongst the States themselves was very visible: all the other complained bitterly against the province of Holland, "which," they said, "had engaged them in a war against their will and without their privity, which was directly contrary to the form and constitution of their government." In a word, peace was universally desired and prayed for; and, in the opinion of all men, any reasonable conditions would at that time have been yielded to. And as the people of England generally had not [been] pleased with the beginning of the war, so the court was weary of it; and the king would have been willing to have received any good overtures for the composing it; and the duke, since he was kept from bearing a part in it, would not have opposed it. But the ambassadors pressed no such matter, but congratulated the victory with the same joy they found in the court, and seemed to think that any misfortune that could befall the Dutch would be but a just punishment for their pride and insolence towards all their neighbour princes: the two nations had not yet worried them-

selves enough, entirely to submit to the arbitration of France; which it resolved they should do.

659 Within less than a month the fleet was again prepared and ready for the sea, as strong and in as good a condition as it had been before the battle; and the king and the duke went thither, the duke making no doubt of putting his person on board. And the king at that time resolved that prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich should have the joint command of it: in order to which prince Rupert was prepared, of whose easy concurrence only there was some doubt, his majesty promising himself all conformity and resignation from the earl of Sandwich; which he met with in both, for the prince very cheerfully submitted to his majesty's pleasure. In the journey the king acquainted his brother with his resolution, and the promise he had made to the queen their mother; with which the duke was much troubled, and offered many reasons to divert his majesty from laying his command upon him: but when he found there was no remedy, he submitted, and gave orders for disembarking his family and goods.

660 But when this was communicated to Mr. Coventry, who was to prepare such commissions and warrants as upon this alteration of counsels were necessary, he persuaded the duke, and prevailed with him to believe, "that it would be much better to commit the sole command of the fleet to the earl of Sandwich, than to join prince Rupert in it with him," who, for no other reason but for not esteeming him at the rate he valued himself, had been long in his disfavour. He suggested some defects in the prince, which nobody could absolve him from, and which the gentle temper of the earl of Sandwich, who knew him as well as the other, could have complied with: and many thought it would have in the conjunction produced a very good mixture, the danger from the prince being too sudden resolutions from too much heat and

passion, and the earl having enough of phlegm and wariness in deliberating, and much vigour in the executing what was concluded; and they were both well prepared and inclined to perform the function.

661 But Mr. Coventry's advice prevailed both with the duke and king: and so in the instant that the king and duke were to return from the fleet that was ready to set sail with the first [fair] wind, and not till then, the king told prince Rupert, without enlarging upon the reasons, "that he would have him to return with him to London, and accompany him this summer, and that the earl of Sandwich should have the sole command of the fleet;" with which the prince was wonderfully surprised and perplexed, and even heart-broken; but there was no contending. He stayed behind the king only till he could get his goods and family disembarked, and then returned with very much trouble to the court: and the earl of Sandwich set sail with the fleet, with direction first to visit the coast of Holland, and if he found that the Dutch fleet was not ready to come out, that he should go to the northward to watch the East India fleet, which had orders from their superiors to come by the north, that they might avoid the English fleet, that was master of the sea.

662 It was in the end of June or beginning of July that the king and duke returned from the fleet; and within few days after, it set sail: when the plague increased so fast, that there died about two thousand in a week; so that all men cried out against the king's staying so long at Whitehall, the sickness being already in Westminster. Whereupon the king, after he had taken the best care he could with the lord mayor for the good ordering the city, and published such orders as were thought necessary for the relief and regulation of infected persons, and prevailed with some justices of the peace in the Strand and in Westminster to promise to reside there, (which they were the more easily persuaded to do by the general's declaring

that he would stay in his lodgings at Whitehall, which he did during the whole time of the pestilence; and the lord Craven, out of friendship to him, stayed likewise in his house in Drury-lane: and it cannot be denied that the presence of those two great persons prevented many mischiefs which would have fallen out by the disorder of the people, and was of great convenience and benefit to that end of the town:) I say, when the king had settled all this, he removed to Hampton, resolving there to consider how to dispose of himself for the remainder of the summer. And because there were many particulars still unresolved concerning the business of Ireland, his majesty for some days appointed that numerous people, that they might have no pretence to come to Hampton-Court, to attend at Sion; where for many days together his majesty spent many hours, till he had composed that affair as well as it was for the present capable of.

663 The plague still increased at London, and spread about the country; so that it was not thought safe for the court to remain longer where it then was, the sickness being already in some of the adjacent villages. Whereupon the king resolved that his own family and his brother's should remove to Salisbury, and spend the summer there. And because it was already in view, that it would not be fit for the parliament to assemble again at Westminster in September, to which time it was prorogued, nor could it be computed at what time it could be safe to meet in that place; and it was as notorious that if the parliament met not somewhere, whereby the king might have another supply before the winter, there would be very great confusion for want of money: he caused therefore a proclamation to issue out, "that he intended to adjourn the parliament to meet at Oxford upon the tenth of October next, and that the members need not to attend at Westminster in September." And then he directed the speaker of the house of commons, who lived within half a day of London, and the general

and the lord Craven, to give notice to the members of both houses, who lived within that distance, to be present in both houses at the day to which they were prorogued, and then to adjourn to Oxford according to the proclamation. And this being settled, his majesty appointed a day for beginning his progress from Hampton-Court to Salisbury; against which time all carriages and whatsoever was necessary for the journey [were prepared].

664 In the morning, when every body believed that the king and queen and duke and duchess, with both their families, were to go together one way, Mr. Coventry found a way to break that resolution, having no mind to be in so great a court that his greatness would not appear. He told the duke “that there were general discontents throughout the kingdom,” which was true, “and a probability of insurrections,” which were much spoken of and apprehended; “and therefore it might be better that the king and the duke might not be together, but in several places, that they might draw what forces were necessary to them, which the presence of their own persons would easily do: that the fleet would probably be all the summer upon the northern coast in expectation of the Dutch East India fleet;” for it was not then thought that the Hollanders would have been able to have set out another fleet able to have encountered ours. Upon the whole matter he proposed to him, “that since the king meant to spend the summer in the west, with which there could very hardly be any correspondence from the fleet, his highness should go into the north, and reside at York; by which he would have an influence upon all those parts where the most disaffected persons [were] most inhabitant, and from Hull and those maritime parts he could not be long without receiving [some] intelligence from the fleet.”

665 The truth is; the constitution of the court at this time was such, the prevalence of the lady so great, and the

queen's humour thereupon so inconstant, and all together so discomposed the king, that there was no pleasure in being a part of it: and therefore the advice was as soon embraced as given, by the duke and his wife, who were well content to enjoy themselves in their own family apart. And the duke presently proposed it to the king, and Mr. Coventry discoursed all the motives to him so fully, that his majesty approved it. And then, if it were to be done at all, the first attending the king to Salisbury, which was so much out of the way, would be to no purpose: and therefore it was resolved (all the coaches and carriages being then at the doors to go to Farnham, which was the first day's journey towards Salisbury) that the king and his brother would part upon the place, and that the king and queen should continue their purpose for Farnham, and the duke and his wife should go that night to St. Alban's, and so prosecute his journey for York; and all orders were in the instant given out to this purpose.

666 Whether the reasons of this counsel were of importance or not, the alteration on such a sudden from what had been before determined was thought very strange, and wondered at, and made many believe that some accident was fallen out that must not be discovered: for on the sudden it was, there having been no such thought overnight, when the chancellor left the court to go to his own house at Twickenham. And when he returned the next morning, the resolution was taken, and every body well pleased with the change, and both the king and the duke told him with satisfaction of it; nor did he understand it enough to make objections against it, which would have been ingrateful; nor was it convenient to spend longer time in deliberation at that place, where some of the inferior servants had died the night before of the plague: and so they all entered upon their journey by nine of the clock the same morning.

667 It is necessary in this place to remember, that the ex-

press, that had been sent by the bishop of Munster's agent with the conditions which were offered by the king, returned with great expedition, and brought the bishop's acceptance and engagement, "that, upon the payment of the first sum that was agreed upon, he would draw his army together, and march with an army of twenty thousand horse and foot into the States' dominions." And the king before he left London had signed the treaty, and made the first payment, and provided for the second: so that he now expected that the bishop should be shortly upon his march, and fix his winter-quarters in those provinces; which he did resolve and intend with courage and sincerity, and which in that conjuncture must have put the counsels of Holland into great confusion, when they began to be again reduced into some order.

668     The indefatigable industry and dexterity of the pensionary De Wit prevailed with the States to believe, "that he thought a peace to be necessary for their affairs, and desired nothing but that it might be upon honourable and safe conditions, and that France was very real in the endeavouring it: but that the enemy was so insolent upon their late success, that they neglected all overtures, and believed that the factions and divisions amongst themselves would hinder them from being able to set out another fleet; and therefore that ought to be the first design. And if their fleet were ready to go out, he doubted not but a peace would quickly follow: for that France was engaged, if the king should not consent to what is just and reasonable, to declare a war against England, and to assist them with men and money, and all his own naval power, which the duke of Beaufort was then preparing and making ready in all the ports of France. But that it was not to be expected that they would send out their fleet, which was much inferior to the English, except they first saw a Dutch fleet at sea ready to join with them." He wished them to consider "how much

they were all concerned in their India ships, which were in their voyage, and could not be far from their coasts in a short time; all which would inevitably fall into the hands of the English, if they had no fleet at sea to relieve them."

569 These reasons, of weight in themselves, and the concernment of most of them in the preservation of the Indian ships, prevailed with them to do all that could be done to set out a new fleet: and to that purpose they sent very strict and severe orders to their several admiralities, for the proceeding against all, without distinction of persons, who had misbehaved themselves in the late battle, and to provide new ships and all necessary provisions, to the end that their fleet might be at sea by a time. And this grew the more easy to them, by the seasonable return of De Ruyter with his fleet from Guinea, which brought a present addition of good strength; and he had begun the war upon the English, and was the best sea-officer they had, and had exercised those commands that no other officer could refuse to obey him.

570 For the speedy carrying on these present preparations, they made, according to their usual custom in extraordinary occurrences, committees of the States to assist in the admiralities of Zealand, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam; and to that purpose De Wit, and such other as he thought fittest at this time to join with him, were appointed. They went first to the fleet to reform the disorders there: and though they durst not proceed with that severity as had been fit, yet they cashiered many captains and other officers, and put some other marks of disgrace upon others, and caused one or two to die.

571 But that which De Wit's heart was most set upon was to take revenge upon Van Trump, and to remove him from ever having any command at sea: for though he was an excellent officer, and upon the stock of his father's credit of great estimation with the seamen and inferior



to no man but De Ruyter, and had behaved himself in the battle with signal courage; yet his dispute with Evertson upon command had brought much prejudice to them. But that which was worst of all and incensed De Wit implacably was, that he was of entire devotion to the prince of Orange, as his father had always been, and all his children continued to be, and he knew well had an especial part, how covertly soever, in fomenting the murmurs of the people [against] him and the war: and he resolved to take this opportunity of the good temper the States were in in their concurrence for the setting out the fleet, not only to provide for the better government of their ships and marine conduct, but to punish and prevent the murmurs at land, by removing all those out of any power whom he suspected to have secretly contributed to them. He did all he could to make Van Trump's offence capital, as if the right of command had been so clear in Evertson that the other could not dispute it: but Van Trump defended himself [so well], and had so many friends, that he was absolved from that guilt. Yet for some passionate and indiscreet words, in which he did naturally abound, he was deprived of his command, with a declaration, "that he should no more be employed in the service of the States;" which whilst the government was in those hands he cared not for, and had a good estate to subsist without it. And so for the present all differences were composed so far, as to have a general concurrence in whatsoever was necessary, and in order to the making ready and setting out their fleet to sea.

672 The king had been few days at Salisbury before the French and Spanish ambassadors arrived there, and then they made some instance with the king, that there might be a treaty for peace; and [the French ambassadors] declared, "that the king their master was so far engaged by treaty with the Dutch, that if the king would not accept of a just and an honourable peace, his majesty must declare

himself on their behalf, which he was unwilling to do." The king answered, "that if there were any such engagement he had not been well dealt with; for that the French king had given his word to him, that he would not enter into any treaty with the Dutch but '*pari passu*' with his majesty," (and when his majesty had been informed that there was some treaty concluded with them, he was assured from France "that it was only a treaty of commerce, which he had been obliged to enter into to prevent an edict in Holland, by which strong waters and other French commodities would have been inhibited to be brought into those provinces, but that there was nothing in that treaty that could be to his majesty's prejudice:") "that his majesty had been always ready to embrace peace, which had been never yet offered by the Dutch, nor did he know what conditions they expected."

673 The ambassadors seemed to be much offended with the insolent behaviour of the Dutch; and confessed "that they were not solicitous for peace, but only desired to engage the king their master in the war: but that if his majesty would make his demands, which they presumed would be reasonable, the other should be brought to consent to them." To which the king replied, "that they had begun the war upon him, and not he upon them; and that God had hitherto given him the advantage, which he hoped he should improve; and till they were as desirous of a peace as he, it would not become him to make any propositions." And in this manner that affair stood whilst the court remained at Salisbury.

674 And there now fell out an unexpected accident, which looked as if Providence had been inclined to repair the mischief and the damage that the plague had produced to the affairs of the king. It hath been mentioned before, that upon the first thoughts of a war with the Dutch, the king had sent Mr. Henry Coventry to Sweden, and sir Gilbert Talbot to Denmark, to engage those crowns as far

as might be on his majesty's behalf, both of them being enough disoblged and provoked by the Dutch.

675 Mr. Coventry in Sweden found a frank and open reception, avowing a hearty affection to the king, and an inclination to join in any thing that might not be destructive to their own affairs: nor did they dissemble the injuries they had received from the Hollander even to the Dutch ambassador himself, who was at the same time sent thither to unite that crown to their interest, to which purpose he had made several specious overtures. Nor did they conceal the jealousy they had of the French, who had not complied with the payment of the yearly sum of money which they were obliged to make to them for the support of their army, of which they were in a great arrear, that discomposed their affairs very much. And though M. Pompone, who had been long resident in that court as an envoy, was now come thither as ambassador from France, and brought with him a good sum of money to retain them fast to their dependance upon them; yet the money was not half that was due to them, and they well knew what dark ends it was for: and they did exceedingly fear the omnipotence of France.

676 There were two things which kept them from a full declaration on the king's behalf, and engaging presently in his interest. The first was the apprehension that they had of Denmark, that it would take this opportunity to unite themselves more firmly to the Hollander, and so attempt to deprive Sweden of all their late conquest, which was confirmed to them by their own treaty of Copenhagen, which they were resolved never to part from: and in this particular they were to expect some satisfaction and security from the negotiation of sir Gilbert Talbot. The other was, that they might see the bishop of Munster fully engaged, upon whose expedition they had much expectation. And Mr. Coventry had informed them of that whole agreement, which would have

given them opportunity to have prosecuted their own design upon Bremen, to which their hearts were most devoted.

677 Sir Gilbert Talbot had been as well received in Denmark, with all the professions imaginable of affection to the king, and of their detestation of the Dutch, who in truth had exercised a strange tyranny over them by the advantage of their necessities; nor is the injustice, oppression, and indignities which they had sustained from them to be expressed and described, without entering into a large discourse of particulars which are foreign to this relation: let it suffice, that there needed few arguments to persuade that king to any thing that was within his power, and which would have done signal mischief to the Dutch. But the truth is, the kingdom was very poor, the people unwarlike, the king himself very good and very weak, jealous of all the great men, and not yet recovered of the fright that Wolfelt had put him into. His chief minister, one Gabell, had gotten his credit by having been his barber, an illiterate and unbred man, yet his sole confidant in his business of greatest trust; which made all the persons of quality in the kingdom, who are as proud of their nobility as any nation, full of indignation. And they were able to cross many resolutions after they were taken, though they could not establish others in the place; which made the king very irresolute and unfixed: so that what was concluded to-day was reversed or not pursued to-morrow. They professed a great jealousy of the Swede, as the greatest argument, but their weakness, against [a war with] the Dutch; yet were not willing to propose any expedients which might secure them against those jealousies. And the king absolutely denied that he had ever given Hannibal Zested authority to declare, "that he would again confirm the treaty he had made;" and seemed to take it unkindly that his majesty should think it reasonable, who therefore

thought it so, because it was proposed by himself, and because he still confessed, “that he could make no attempt to recover what he had parted with.” That which he did unreasonably design, in all the disguises which were put on, was to engage the king to endeavour to persuade the Swede to give up and restore Elsinour and the other places to Denmark, or to assist him with force for the recovery of them when there should be a peace concluded with Holland: so that the king despaired of any good from that negotiation, and resolved shortly to recall his minister from thence.

678 But there was on a sudden a change to wonder. Gabell came early in a morning to sir Gilbert Talbot, and told him, “his master was now resolved to unite his interest entirely to that of the king of England, having now an opportunity to do it securely to both their benefits.” He told him, “that there were letters arrived that night from Bergen, with news that the Dutch East India ships were all arrived in that port with orders to remain there till they received new orders from Holland, which they should have as soon as their fleet should be ready to join with them. This had disposed the king to resolve to give the king of England opportunity to possess himself of all that treasure, out of which he presumed he would allow him such a share, as might enable him to declare, and assist his majesty vigorously in his war, against the Dutch. That if he gave speedy notice to the king’s fleet, which every body knew was then at sea, it might easily go to Bergen, where they might as easily surprise all those ships in the port, since they should receive no opposition from the castles under whose protection they lay.”

679 And when he had done his relation, he offered him to go with him to the king, that he might receive the obligation from himself; which sir Gilbert Talbot presently did, and found his majesty as cheerful in the resolution as Gabell had been. He repeated all that the other had

said, and more particularly “that he thought it reasonable that he might expect half of the value that the whole would amount to; which he would rely upon the king’s honour and justice for, after the ships should be in England, and that he might not be suspected by the Hollander, for he would protest [against] the act as a violence that he could not resist: and [that] he would expect so many of his majesty’s [ships] to arrive in Denmark, and to assist him, before he positively declared against the Dutch.” He wished sir Gilbert Talbot “to send an express forthwith to the king with all these particulars;” which he did the next day.

- 680 This express arrived within few days after the king came to Salisbury, and was despatched presently back again with letters to the king of Denmark of his majesty’s consent and ratification of all that he had proposed, and with letters likewise to the earl of Sandwich, who according to his former orders had sailed northward in hope to meet with that fleet, which was before got into Norway. The king’s letters to him came in a very good season, and he immediately continued his course for Norway: and when he came to that length, and near enough to that land of rocks which are terrible to all seamen, he thought it best to remain at sea with his fleet, lest De Ruyter might by this time be come out with his fleet, (since his being come northward could not be concealed, nor the arrival of the East India fleet at Bergen; which would hasten the other,) and sent in a squadron of fifteen or sixteen good ships (of strength sufficient for the business) into the harbour of Bergen with a letter to the governor. And with it he sent [in] a gentleman that was a volunteer on board him, who hath been often mentioned before, Mr. Clifford, the confidant of the lord Arlington, who was well instructed in all the transactions which had been at Copenhagen. Before they went into the harbour, Mr. Clifford and another gentleman or two went by boat

to the town, where he found all the Dutch ships (about a dozen in number) riding very near the shore, and all under the protection of the castle, into which they had put much of their richest lading from the time of their first coming thither, as to a place of unquestionable security.

681 The governor was not surprised with the messengers or the letter, as appeared by the reception of both, but seemed troubled that they were come so soon, before the manner of performing the action was enough adjusted: he could not deny but “that he had received orders from Copenhagen; but that he expected more perfect directions within four and twenty hours, and expected likewise the presence of the vice-king of Norway, who was his superior officer, and would infallibly be there the next day.” The behaviour of the man was such as made them believe it sincere, as in truth it was, for he meant well, and was content that the ships, which though they were not come into the port did not ride safe amongst the rocks, should come into the port, upon assurance that they would not attempt any hostile act without his consent, which was till all things should be agreed between them: and so the fleet entered; which the Dutch perceived with great consternation, yet changed the posture of some of their ships, and new-moored the rest, and put themselves upon their defence.

682 It is a port like no other that the world knows, a very great number of formidable rocks, between each of which the sea runs deep enough for the greatest ships to ride securely; so that the ships were as in so many chambers apart between the rocks: and the Dutch, which came thither first, had possessed themselves of that line of the sea that lay next to the shore, to which they lay so near that they could descend from their vessels on land; which had been much the better for the enterprise, if the Dane had concurred in it.

683 It was so late before the English ships had taken their

places, which was as near the Dutch as the rocks would permit, that they remained quiet all night, which was spent in consultation between the commander in chief of the English ships (who was a stout and a good officer, but a rough man, who knew better how to follow his instructions than to debate the ground of them; but he was advised by Mr. Clifford, and conformed to his judgment) and the governor of the town and castle, who seemed still inclined not only to suffer the English to do what they would, but to be willing to act a part in it himself from the shore, and to expect hourly orders to that purpose, as likewise the arrival of the vice-king, whose authority was more equal to that attempt, and who was a man well known to have a particular reverence for the king, and as particular a prejudice and animosity against the Dutch. The night being over, the governor continued all the next day as desirous and importunate that the enterprise might be longer deferred; upon which there were some cholerick words between the governor and a gentleman of quality who was a volunteer on board the ships, which many thought in some degree irreconciled the governor to the affair.

684 In conclusion, the commander of the squadron was willing to think that the governor had rather it should be done without his declared consent than by it, and so told him, "that the next morning he was resolved to weigh his anchors and to fall upon the Dutch;" to which the other made such a reply as confirmed him in his former imagination. And in the morning the ships were brought out of their several channels, and placed as near the sides of the Dutch as they could be, from whence they resolved to board them as soon as they had sent their broadsides upon them. But they found that the Dutch had spent their time well; for in the two days and two nights that the English had been in the harbour, besides the unlading the richest of their commodities that were left into the



castle, they had drawn all their ordnance, which lay on that side of the ships which was to the shore, on land, and planted them upon a rising ground, that they could shoot over their own ships upon the English: and a breastwork was cast up, behind which all the inhabitants of the town were in arms.

685 It was a fair warning, and might very well have persuaded our men to be glad to retire out of the harbour, which yet they might have done: but their courage or their anger disposed them to make further trial of the governor, for they feared not the ordnance from the land which the Dutch had planted, nor the muskets from the breastworks, if the castle did them no harm, under the power of which they all were. And so they fell upon their work: and in some time, and [with] the loss of many men from the ships and from the land, they had dismounted many of the ordnance upon the shore, and were even ready to board the ships; when out of absurd rage or accident a ship or two of the English discharged some guns both upon the breastworks, from whence they had received no prejudice, and upon the town, which beat down some houses. But then all the muskets from the breastworks were poured out, and guns from the castle, which killed very many common men, and five or six officers of very good account, and some gentlemen volunteers, amongst which was Edward Mountague, eldest son to the lord Mountague of Boughton, and cousin german to the earl of Sandwich, a proper man and well-bred, but not easy to be pleased, and who was then withdrawn from the court, where he was master of the horse to the queen, and in some discontent had put himself on board the fleet with a captain, without the privity of the earl of Sandwich, and was now slain. There was now no further experiment to be made, but how they could get to sea, which might easily have been prevented from the shore and from the rocks: but from the minute that they prepared to be

gone and gave over shooting, there was no more done against them, and they had pilots from the country that carried them safe out.

686 The noise of the guns had called the earl of Sandwich as near the mouth of the harbour as could safely be, to discover what became of his squadron; so that they came shortly to him with the whole account of their ill success, and within a short time after a shallop [from the governor], with a letter to the officer who had commanded the squadron, complaining as much as he could do of the misbehaviour of the English in shooting upon the town, and desiring “that Mr. Clifford would give him a meeting at a place he appointed, to which the shallop should convey him.” Mr. Clifford was more willing to go than the earl was to permit him; yet at last upon his earnest desire he consented, and he put himself into the shallop. It happened that when the action was over and the English under sail, the vice-king arrived at Bergen, with two or three regiments of the country; and the orders were likewise come from Copenhagen, whereby, at least as they pretended, they were required to permit all that the English desired: and the vice-king had caused the shallop to be sent, and was himself with the governor at the place whither Mr. Clifford was to come, and there he spake with them together.

687 The governor with many protestations excused himself for shooting from the castle, after the town was assaulted, and many of the burghers killed, who had stood in arms only to defend the town, without being concerned for the Dutch or their ships; and made it an argument of his integrity and respect, “that he had permitted them to depart when it was in his power to have sunk them.” He complained “that the commander would not have the patience to defer the assault one day longer, which if he had done, the orders from Copenhagen had been come, and the vice-king had been present with his forces, which

would have secured the enterprise." The vice-king seemed very much troubled for what had been done, and earnestly desired "that the same or another squadron might be again sent in, when they should be at liberty to do what they would upon the Dutch; and if they stood in need of assistance, they should have as much as was necessary."

688 Mr. Clifford replied to many of the excuses which were made, and urged "the suffering the Dutch to bring their ordnance on shore, and the townsmen being in arms to assist them;" and proposed, "that they would first begin by seizing upon some of their ships, and then that their fleet should answer:" but this the vice-king did absolutely refuse, and made another proposition, that startled more, and was directly new, "that when the English had seized upon all the Dutch ships, they should not have carried any of them away till a perfect division of the goods was made, that the king of Denmark might have his just proportion." Mr. Clifford made no answer but "that he would present all that they proposed to the earl of Sandwich, in whom the power of concluding and executing remained solely:" and so he returned to the fleet, and they to the town, and expected an answer.

689 The earl of Sandwich thought not fit to run any more hazards, and was not satisfied that they had proceeded sincerely. But that which most prevailed with him was, that he had received intelligence "that De Ruyter was come out with the fleet," and he would not he should find him entangled in those rocks, or obliged to fight with him upon that coast; and the season of the year now made that station very unsecure, for it was already the beginning of October, when those seas run very high and boisterous: and therefore he resolved to be master of more sea-room, that he might fight De Ruyter, if he came; and if he did not, he might then meet those East India ships more securely in their way to Holland, than

by making another attempt in the harbour. And so, after some letters had passed and repassed between the vice-king and him, and both the vice-king and governor had undertaken to keep the Dutch ships there for the space of six weeks, for they desired to see the success of another engagement between the two fleets; the earl steered that way with his fleet that most probably might bring him and De Ruyter together, which above all things he desired.

690 This whole affair of Bergen and the managery thereof was so perplexed and intricate, that it was never clearly understood. That which seemed to have most probability was, that as soon as the Dutch fleet came to Bergen, they had unladen many of their richest commodities and put them into the castle, before the governor had received his orders from Copenhagen: and so both his own and his master's faith and honour were engaged to discharge the trust, of which he made haste to send an account to the king, and thereupon expected new directions, which were not arrived when the English fleet came thither. And when they did come, whether that court, according to its custom, did change its mind, and believe they should make a better bargain by keeping what was already deposited in their hands in the castle, than by making an uncertain division with the king; or whether they did in truth continue firm to the first agreement, and that the messenger was stopped by extraordinary accidents in his journey, (which was positively alleged,) so that he did not arrive in time; or whether the governor was not able to master the town that was much inclined to the Hollanders, before the vice-king came with his troops, who did make all possible haste as soon as he heard that the English were arrived; or whether the English did proceed more unadvisedly and rashly than they ought to have done; remains still in the dark: and both parties reproached each other afterwards, as they

found most necessary for their several defences and pretences; of which more hereafter.

<sup>691</sup> The king stayed not altogether so long at Salisbury as he had intended to have done: for besides a little accidental indisposition which made him dislike the air, some inferior servants and their wives came from London or the villages adjacent, and brought the plague with them; so that the court removed to Oxford before the end of September, the parliament being to assemble there on the tenth of the next month. And before he left Salisbury, his majesty sent an express to York to his brother, “that he would meet him as soon as he could.” The duke had lived in great lustre in York all that summer, with the very great respect and continual attendance of all the persons of quality of that large county: and the duke no sooner received his majesty’s summons than he took post, and left his wife and family to follow by ordinary journeys, and himself came to Oxford the next day after the king, where there were indeed matters of the highest importance to be consulted and resolved.

<sup>692</sup> The king had sent Mr. Clifford to Denmark to be satisfied, upon conference with sir Gilbert Talbot, concerning the miscarriage at Bergen, and if the ships remained still there according to the promise the vice-king had made, and if that king were ready to perform what he had undertaken, that all particulars might be so adjusted that there might be no further mistake; and if he found that the jealousy of Sweden was a real obstruction to that alliance, that he should make a journey to Sweden, and upon conference with Mr. Coventry, who by his dexterity and very good parts had reconciled the affections of that court to a very great esteem of him, to endeavour to remove all those obstructions: and as soon as his majesty should receive full information of that whole affair, he must consider what he was to do to vindicate himself in that business of Bergen; for he knew well that he must suffer

with all the world, for violating the peace of a port that was under the government of a neighbour prince with whom he was allied, if he did not make it appear that he had the consent of that prince, which he was not willing to do till he first knew what that king would do.

693 In the next place his majesty was to resolve what answer to make to the French ambassadors, who now desired frequent audiences, and positively declared “that their master was engaged by his treaty with the Dutch, that in case they were invaded or assaulted by any prince, he would assist them with men, money, and ships, which he had hitherto deferred to do out of respect to the king, and in hope that he would accept his mediation, and make such propositions towards peace as he might press the others to consent to.” The Dutch ambassador was likewise come to town, rather to treat concerning the prisoners and to observe what the French ambassadors did, than that he had any thing to propose in order to peace, there appearing now since their fleet was at sea more insolence in the Dutch, and a greater aversion from the peace, than had been formerly.

694 The king complained to the ambassadors of the French king’s proceedings, “that the entering into that treaty was expressly against his word given to the king: that the Dutch had first began the war, and ought to make the first approach towards peace, but that [their] ambassador had no instruction to make any such instance; and therefore it seemed very strange to his majesty, that the French king should press for that which they had no desire to have.”

695 The ambassadors confessed “that the Dutch did not desire a peace; that they thought they were too much behindhand, and that they had at present great advantages; that they looked upon the great plague in London” (which continued in its full rage and vigour, inso-much as at that time in the end of September there died

not so few as six thousand in the week, amongst which some were of the best quality in the city) “as of such insupportable damage to the king, that he would not be able to set out another fleet the year following: and therefore that, when they had been pressed by the French king to make some propositions towards peace, he could get no other answer from them, than that they expected that the island of Poleroone should be released to them, and that the fort at Cabo Corso in Guinea should be thrown down and slighted; which they confessed was an insolent proposition. That they complained that the king their master, instead of giving them the assistance he was obliged to do, spent the time in procuring a peace, which they cared not for: so that,” they said, “their master continued the same Christian office principally to do his majesty of Great Britain a service, who he in truth believed would be reduced to great straits by the terrible effect of the plague; and in the next place to defend himself from entering into the war, which he could no longer defer to do, if his majesty did not, by consenting to some reasonable overture, give him a just occasion to press them to yield to it; and in that case he would behave himself in that manner that the king should have no cause to complain of his partiality.” The king’s indignation was so provoked by the pride and impudence of the Dutch demands, that he gave the ambassadors no other answer, than “that he hoped God Almighty had not sent that heavy judgment of the plague upon him and his people on the behalf of the Hollanders, and to expose him to their insolence.”

696 The parliament convened at Oxford in greater numbers than could reasonably have been expected, the sickness still continuing to rage and spread itself in several countries; so that between the danger that was in the towns infected, and the necessary severity in other towns to keep themselves from being infected, it was a very inconvenient

season for all persons of quality to travel from their own habitations. Upon the tenth of October the king commanded both houses to attend him in Christ Church hall, and told them, “that he was confident they did all believe, that if it had not been absolutely necessary to consult with them, he would not have called them together at that time, when the contagion had spread itself over so many parts of the kingdom: and he thanked them for their compliance so far with his desires.”

697 His majesty said, “the truth was; as he had entered upon the war by their advice and encouragement, so he desired that they might as frequently as was possible receive information of the effects and conduct of it, and that he might have the continuance of their cheerful supply for the carrying it on. He would not deny to them, that it had proved more chargeable than he could imagine it would have been: the addition the enemy had still made to their fleets, beyond their first purpose, made it unavoidably necessary for him to make proportionable preparations, which God had hitherto blessed with success in all encounters. And as they had used their utmost endeavours by calumnies and false suggestions to gain friends to themselves, and to persuade them to assist them against him, so he had not been wanting to encourage those princes who had been wronged by the Dutch, to recover their own by force; and in order thereunto, he had assisted the bishop of Munster with a great sum of ready money, and was to continue a supply to him, who he believed was at that time in the bowels of their country with a powerful army.

698 “Those issues, which he might tell them had been made with very much conduct and husbandry, (nor indeed did he know that any thing had been spent that could have been well and safely saved;)” he said, “those expenses would not suffer them to wonder, that the great supply which they gave him for this war in so bountiful a



proportion was upon the matter already spent: so that he must not only expect an assistance from them to carry on that war, but such an assistance as might enable him to defend himself and them against a more powerful neighbour, if he should prefer the friendship of the Dutch before his."

699 He put them in mind, "that when he entered upon this war, he had told them, that he had not such a brutal appetite as to make war for war's sake; he was still of the same mind: he had been ready to receive any propositions that France had thought fit to offer to that end, but hitherto nothing had been offered worthy his acceptance: nor was the Dutch less insolent, though he knew no advantage they had got but the continuance of the contagion, and he hoped that God Almighty would shortly deprive them of that encouragement."

700 The chancellor at the same time, by the king's command, made a short narrative of the history of the war, the circumstances with which it was begun, and the progress it had since made, and the victory that the duke had attained; of the vast number of the prisoners and sick and wounded men, a charge that had never been computed.

701 He told them, "the French king had indeed offered his mediation, and that if he intended no more than a mediation, it was an office very worthy the most Christian king: he wished, that as a mediator he would make equal propositions, or that he would not so importunately press his majesty to consent to those he makes, upon an instance and argument, that he holds himself engaged by a former treaty (of which his majesty had never heard till since the beginning of the war, and had some reason to have presumed the contrary) to assist the Dutch with men and money, if his majesty would not consent."

702 He said, "his majesty had told them, that he had no appetite to make war for war's sake; but he would be

always ready to make such a peace as might be for his honour and the interest of his subjects. And no doubt it would be a great trouble and grief to his majesty to find so great a prince, towards whom he had manifested so great an affection, in conjunction with his enemies: yet even the apprehension of such a war would not terrify him to purchase a peace by such concessions as he should be ashamed to make them acquainted with; of which nature they would easily believe the propositions hitherto made to be, when they knew the release of Poleroone in the East Indies, and the demolishing the fort of Cabo Corso upon the coast of Guinea, were two; which would be upon the matter to be contented with a very vile trade in the East Indies under their control, and with none in Guinea. And yet those are not propositions unreasonable enough to please the Dutch, who reproached France for interposing for peace, instead of assisting them in the war, boldly insisting upon the advantage the contagion in London and some other parts of the kingdom gives them; by which, they confidently say, the king will be no longer able to maintain a fleet against them at sea."

703 He told them, "that he had fully obeyed the command that had been laid upon him, in making that plain, clear, true narrative of what had passed; he had no order to make reflection upon it, nor any deduction from it: the king himself had told them, that the noble, unparalleled supply they had already given him is upon the matter spent, spent with all the animadversions of good husbandry that the nature of the affair would bear. What was more to be done he left to their own generous understandings, being not more assured of any thing that was to come in this world, than that the same noble indignation for the honour of the king and the nation, that first provoked them to inflame the king himself, would continue the same passion still boiling in their loyal breasts; that all the world may see, which they never hoped to have seen,

that never prince and people were so entirely united in their affections, for their true, joint, inseparable honour, as their only sure infallible expedient to preserve their distinct several interests.”

704 The king could not expect or wish a fuller concurrence from a parliament than he now found. With very little hesitation they declared, “that they would supply his majesty with another million, (ten hundred thousand pounds :)” and because they desired to be dismissed as soon as might be to their several habitations, not without apprehension that so great a concourse of persons from all places, even from London itself, (for the term was likewise adjourned to Oxford,) might bring the contagion thither likewise ; they rejected all other businesses but what immediately related to the public. To the supply they designed to the king they added the sum of above forty thousand pounds, which they desired his majesty to confer upon the duke, having received some insinuation, “that it would not be ingrateful to the king that such a present should be made to his brother.” Then they passed two or three acts of parliament very much for the king’s honour and security, amongst which one was, “for the attainting all those his subjects who either resided in Holland” (as some of the English officers who had long served in that country presumed still to do) “and continued in their service, or in any other parts beyond the seas, if they did not appear at a day prefixed, after notice by the king’s proclamation :” and the nomination of the persons was entirely left to his majesty.

705 His majesty did hope, that this very good carriage in the parliament would have made some impression upon France, either to [have given] over their mediation, or to have drawn reasonable and just concessions from the States : but it did produce the contrary. The Hollander had received a new damage which inflamed them exceedingly, which shall be particularly mentioned in the next

place, whereupon they made grievous complaints to France of its breach of faith upon the promises that had been made to them. [That] king upon this required his ambassadors once more to make a lively instance to his majesty, "that he would declare what he meant to insist upon in order to a peace, which if he should refuse to do, they should take their leaves and return into France with all possible expedition." In this audience they spake in a higher style than they had formerly used. They complained "of the intolerable damage the subjects of France had sustained in their goods and estates by the king's ships, and those who were licenced by his authority, which without any distinction seized upon all that came in their way as if they were Dutch: and when they complained to the admiralty or to the lords commissioners, they could procure no justice, and were obliged to [such] an attendance and expense, that what they sued for did not prove of value to satisfy the charge of the prosecution; and if after a long and a tedious solicitation they did at last procure a sentence for the redelivery of what had been taken from them, when they hoped to enjoy the benefit of this just sentence by the execution, they found the goods embezzled in the port or plundered by the seamen, that the owners had rarely a third part of their goods ever restored to them. And that by this violence and unjust proceeding, of which they had often made complaint, the French merchants had lost near five hundred thousand pistoles; which their master resented and looked upon as a great indignity to himself, which he had hitherto borne, in hope that the licence would have been restrained by the end of the war."

706 They urged it as an argument of their master's friendship to the king, "that after an offensive treaty had been so long since entered into by him, by which he was obliged to assist the Dutch with men, money, and ships, he had notwithstanding hitherto forborne it, and looked

on whilst they were soundly beaten, and had lately sustained another blow ; and that it was not possible for him to defer it longer :” and so concluded with very earnest persuasions, “that his majesty would consent to such a peace as their master should judge to be reasonable, who could not but be very just to his majesty ;” and wished, “that it might be considered, besides the damage by the plague, which nobody knew how long it might continue, how impossible it was for the king to sustain the arms of France in conjunction with those of Holland, when possibly some other prince might join likewise with them.”

707 They who were appointed by the king to confer with the ambassadors were most perplexed to justify their first charge, “of the depredation that had been made upon the French merchants,” which had in truth been very great, though not amounting to the sum they mentioned. Yet to that they answered, “that the damage and loss which the subjects of France had undergone that way had originally proceeded from themselves, and their own default in owning the goods and merchandise of the Dutch to belong to themselves as their proper goods, and in undertaking to carry and deliver the wine and other goods, which were bought and paid for in France by the Hollanders, in French vessels in that country ; all which had been fully and notoriously proved, and could not be contradicted : and when that discovery was once made, it was no wonder if the seamen sometimes seized upon some vessels which were not liable to the same reproach. But when any complaints of that kind had been made, the king had always given strict charge to the judges to cause restitution to be made, and the transgressors to be severely punished ; and his majesty presumed that the judges had done their duty. For the French king’s being bound by his treaty to assist the Hollanders,” they said, “that if the king had any such obligation upon him, it was subsequent to his obligation to his majesty, by which he was

bound to make no such treaty: nor in truth did they believe that he had entered into any such treaty; for if it were only such as they themselves stated it to be, a defensive league, it would neither engage nor excuse France in giving assistance to them who had done the wrong and begun the war; and therefore if the king was in truth bound to assist them, it must be from some offensive, not defensive clause."

708 The ambassadors replied, "that their master concluded that their king was the aggressor, and then the defensive article did oblige him;" and they acknowledged there was no other. It was answered, "that the king had assumed a power to judge upon a matter of fact of which he had taken no examination; and that it was a partiality not agreeable to the office of a judge, to believe what the Dutch said, and not to believe what the king said, who had clearly published the true history of the fact; and that it was notorious, and not possible to be denied, that they had refused to deliver Poleroone according to their treaty, and that De Ruyter had begun the war in Guinea before one of their ships had been seized on by the king." To which they replied, "that their master thought otherwise, and did look upon the king as aggressor." When they were urged with the violation of the former obligation by entering into the latter, all the answer they gave was, that they knew nothing of it, and that they had commission only to treat upon the present state of affairs, and not upon what had passed long before;" and so, according to the character they underwent near fourteen hundred years since, "*Galli ridentes fidem fregerunt.*"

709 The counsellors of the king told them, "that their master had very well considered the disadvantage he must undergo by the access of so powerful a friend, and of whose friendship he had thought himself possessed, to the part of his enemies, who were too insolent already; and therefore to prevent that disadvantage, he had and would do any thing that would consist with the dignity of a

king : but that he must be laughed at and despised by all the world, if he should consent to make him the arbitrator of the differences who had already declared himself to be a party, and that he is resolved to make war against him on the behalf of his enemy ; and that such menaces would make no impression in the last article of danger that could befall the king." The ambassadors took that expression of menaces very heavily, as if it were a tax upon their manners, and said " they had never used words that could imply a menace." To which it was replied, " that there was no purpose to make any reflection upon their persons, who had always carried themselves with great respect to the king, and who his majesty believed did in their own particular affection wish him better than they did the Dutch : however the declaring, that if the king did not do this or that, the French king would make war upon him, could in no language be looked upon to have any other signification than of a menace and threat." This raised a little warmth on both sides, which made the conference break off at that time.

710 The ambassadors prepared to be gone ; and the king discerned clearly that there was no way to divert the French from an entire conjunction with the Dutch : and thereupon he assembled his secret council together again, to consult what should be the final answer his majesty should give to the French ambassadors at parting. There was no person present, who had not a deep apprehension of the extreme damage and danger that must fall upon the king's affairs, if in this conjuncture France should declare a war against England.

711 It was well known, that the duke of Beaufort was forthwith to be at Brest, where all the French king's ships were to assemble at their rendezvous by Christmas ; that [the French king] had already sent to the bishop of Munster to dissuade him from prosecuting his enterprise against Holland, and that probably he might unite

Denmark again to the Dutch, and probably even allay those warm inclinations which the Swede had for the king. It was well known, that the French king had in the last distractions in Holland contributed very much to the composing them, and to the support of the power and credit of De Wit, who was the soul of the war, and that he had sent him one hundred thousand pistoles, without which they would have hardly been able to have set out their last fleet under De Ruyter. And above all this, his giving life to some domestic rebellion in England and in Ireland, by sending money to discontented persons, was apprehended: for as there were enough discontented and desperate persons in the latter, who wanted only arms and money to declare for any prince who would take them into his protection; [so] it was well known that there was a general combination amongst those of the late army to have risen, if the duke of York had been defeated at sea, and that it was that victory that disappointed that intended insurrection. That there had been a later design, in the very height of this dismal sickness and contagion, in London, (whither the fanatic party had repaired from all the quarters of the kingdom, and had appointed a day upon which the general should be assassinated, which some soldiers of his own regiment had undertaken, and then the whole rendezvous was to be in several streets at the same time;) which in so formidable a conjuncture might have succeeded to a great degree, if by God's blessing it had not been discovered two days before to the general, who caused some of the chief conspirators to be apprehended, who suffered afterwards by the hand of justice. And yet the chief amongst them, colonel Danvers, who in spite of all the vigilance that could be used had been always searched for and always concealed from the time of the king's return, being at this time apprehended and brought before the general, and by him sent with a lieutenant and a guard



of soldiers to the Tower, was rescued in Cheapside, and so escaped, all the citizens looking on without aiding the officer.

712 This was the prospect that the king had of his condition and affairs in this consultation: and therefore if any thing could have occurred that might probably have diverted this storm, it would no doubt have been embraced. But then the exceeding breach of faith in entering into that treaty, the denying it afterwards, and concealing his engagement by it so long after the war was entered into, (which if he had not done, the king could never have looked upon him as a fit mediator,) and the impossibility of depending upon any thing that should be promised for the future, were convincing arguments against any such reference of the conditions to his determination as was proposed, and was the only expedient that was proposed towards the making a peace. It was well known that the chief counsels of France, since monsieur Colbert entered upon the ministry, had been directed towards the advancement of manufactures at home, by which they might have less need of commerce with their neighbours; and for the erecting a trade abroad, with which they had been very little acquainted in former times. And it was justly to be feared, that where the judgment was left to them, they would imitate the infamous Roman precedent, of adjudging that to themselves that was in difference between their neighbours and left to their decision: and so both Poleroone in the East Indies, and Cabo Corso for the West, must be determined to belong to them; which might be the rather apprehended, by their having erected an East India company and a West India company, before they had any visible foundation for a trade in either, to which both these places might carry with them great conveniences.

713 These considerations being seriously reflected upon, with a little generous indignation to find himself thus

treated, prevailed with the king to lay aside all thoughts of further complying with France, and to resolve to dismiss the ambassadors without any other answer, than what should contain complaints, “ of the French king’s want of kindness, which his majesty had cultivated by all the offices he could perform since his restoration, which did not receive an equal return, by the preferring the friendship of the Dutch before that of his majesty.” And with this answer the ambassadors were dismissed, with liberal presents and all gracious demonstrations of esteem of their persons, and so returned for France, where they always gave just testimony of the civilities and fair treatment they had received.

714 But this resolution increased the king’s appetite to peace, and made him think of all other expedients that might contribute to it; and none seemed so hopeful, as that France and Holland might be divided: and he would have been very willing to have agreed with Holland upon any reasonable conditions, that he might continue the war with France; which there were many reasonable inducements to hope might be brought to pass. It was notorious, that preparations had been made for two or three years past by France at a very great expense upon the borders, that they might be ready to enter into Flanders as soon as news should arrive of the king of Spain’s death; and that war would immediately fall out as soon as that king’s decease should be known, which from his age and infirmities must be expected every day: and in that case the friendship could not continue long with Holland, which thought that France was already too near a neighbour to them, to be willing that they should be nearer by a conquest of Flanders, which with its own force could not make an equal resistance. It was likewise as notorious that all the other provinces, Holland only excepted, did impatiently desire the peace; and Holland had only been restrained from the same impa-

tience by the sole credit and authority of De Wit, and by his persuading them, “that France would assist them with men, money, and ships, and likewise declare a war against England, which” (as hath been said before) “would produce a peace upon such conditions as would make it happy to them:” and that though it was true that it had indeed assisted them with some money, it was not considerable to their vast expenses, nor in truth of importance in comparison of the other, which it was equally obliged to do, and had performed nothing. And it was evident that Holland itself was jealous of those proceedings; and even De Wit, in his private discourses to other ministers, seemed to be much unsatisfied with their breach of faith, and not to be without apprehension that they would in the end enter into a stricter alliance with England, and leave Holland as a prey to both.

- 715 The Spanish ambassador, who always desired that the peace might be established between the English and the Dutch, and that they would both join with Spain in a defensive league, into which Denmark would be glad to enter, and Sweden might be drawn in upon the same conditions which they now received from France, towards which he had often desired the king to interpose, was now very glad that the French ambassadors had taken their leaves and were gone; and he pretended to have many assurances from the Spanish ambassador at the Hague, that the Dutch had those inclinations which are mentioned before, “and that De Wit would be glad to confer in private with any man trusted by the king, if he might be sure that it should not be communicated to France.” Upon all these probabilities, and the certainty that no good could be expected from France, his majesty resolved to embrace all opportunities to agree with Holland; towards which he had a secret intelligence, to which he gave more credit than to all the rest, which shall be mentioned hereafter.

716 There were so many great transactions during the king's residence in Oxford, besides what was done in the parliament and what related to the dismissal of the French ambassadors, so many councils which were executed, and so many secret designs only initiated then, and not executed till long after, that there cannot be too particular a recollection of the occurrences of all that time. And if some things are mentioned which seem too light and of too small importance to have a place in this relation, they will be found at last to be the rise and principal ingredient to some counsel and resolution, which proved afterwards of consequence enough, as well to the public as to the interest of particular persons.

717 The first attempt that was made was to make a breach between the chancellor and the treasurer, who had been long fast friends, and were believed to have most credit with the king; and they who loved neither of them thought the most likely way to hurt them was to make them love one another less. Several attempts had been made upon the chancellor to that purpose without effect: he knew the other too well to be shaken in the esteem he had of his friendship, and the knowledge he had of his virtue.

718 But there was now an accident fell out, that gave them an opportunity to suggest to the treasurer, "that the chancellor had failed in his friendship towards him." The occasion was upon the vacancy of an office near the queen by the death of Mr. Mountague, master of the horse to her majesty, who had been killed before Bergen: and the news arriving with the duke at York, before it was known at Salisbury to the king, the duke and his wife writ to the king and to the queen "to confer that place upon his younger brother," who was now become both the eldest and the only son to his father, the lord Mountague of Boughton; and the gentleman himself, on whose behalf the letters were writ, came himself by post with them

within two or three hours after the news was brought to Salisbury, and he brought likewise a letter from the duchess to the chancellor, "to assist the gentleman all he could in his pretence," he at the same time enjoying the same office under the duchess that his brother had under the queen.

719 The chancellor had never used to interpose in matters of that nature, nor had he any acquaintance with this gentleman who was now recommended: yet he could not refuse to wait upon the queen, and shew her the letter he had received, without any intention to appear further in it. But when he waited upon the queen, who had received her letter before, her majesty seemed graciously disposed to gratify the gentleman, if the king approved it; but said, "that she would make no choice herself of any servant without knowing first his majesty's pleasure:" and she added, "that she had been informed, that the lord Mountague was very angry with his son that was unfortunately slain, for having taken that charge in her family, and that he never allowed him any thing towards his support; and if all other obstructions were out of the way, she would not receive him, except she were first assured that his father would like and desire it." Her majesty vouchsafed to wish the chancellor "to speak with the king, and as dexterously as he could to dispose him to recommend Mr. Mountague to her, as just and reasonable, since his brother had lost his life in his service."

720 This command of her majesty obliged the chancellor to wait upon the king, and to shew him the letter he had received from the duchess; and at the same time the king gave him that which he had from the duke, in which his highness desired him, "that if that place was not presently conferred upon Mr. Mountague, his majesty would not dispose of it till he waited upon him." The chancellor told him, "that the queen gave no answer, but referred

it entirely to his majesty." And he said, "he would never recommend any person to her but such a one as would be very grateful to her." He said "it would seem very hard to deny one brother to succeed another who was killed in his service." He confessed, "that the lord Crofts had moved him on the behalf of Mr. Robert Spencer, of whom he had a good opinion: but that he had answered him, that he would not do any thing in it till he saw his brother; which resolution he would keep." To which the chancellor made no reply, having in his own private inclinations and affections much more kindness for Mr. Spencer, of whose pretence he had never received the least intimation before, than for the other, with whom he had spoken very few words in his life. He told Mr. Mountague no more but that which the king himself had told him, "that he would not dispose of the place till the duke should arrive;" only he added what the queen had said of his father, and advised him to think of the way to remove that obstruction. Whereupon he resolved to make a journey to his father, which he knew he might well do before the king and his brother could meet.

721 The same night Mr. Spencer came to the chancellor, and brought him a letter from the treasurer (whose nephew he was, and who was unfortunately gone out of the town the day before to a house of his own twenty miles distant) to recommend his nephew to the queen, to whom and to the king he had likewise letters. The chancellor gave him an account of all that had passed, shewed him the letter that he had received from the duchess, and told him what the queen and the king had said, and "that it was not possible for him to do him service, for which he was very sorry;" but advised him "to deliver both his letters, and to attend their majesties, who he was confident had yet taken no resolution:" with all which he was very well satisfied, and confessed "he could not expect that he should appear for him." When he delivered his letters to both

their majesties, he received so gracious an answer from both, that he might reasonably [expect] his suit to be granted, though the king told him, “he would not dispose of the place till he spake with his brother.” And there is no doubt but if the lord treasurer had been in the town when the news first came to the king of Mr. Mountague’s death, which was a whole day before the arrival of the duke’s letter, the king or queen would not have denied him his request.

722 Within a short time after Mr. Spencer had left him, the lord Crofts, who had married his sister, and was governed by the lord Arlington, came to the chancellor, and desired him “to take care, out of his friendship with the treasurer, that the king might not refuse to gratify him in this suit for his nephew, which was the first he had ever made; and if he should be denied, it would exceedingly trouble him. That when he spake to the king of it, as soon as the news came, and told him, he was sure that the treasurer would be a suitor to him for his nephew, his majesty did promise him that he should have it; and that both their majesties had as good as said the same now to Robert Spencer: and therefore, if he would now use his credit, the thing might be despatched presently, and without further delay.”

723 The chancellor asked him, “whether Mr. Spencer had informed him of all that had passed between them two:” he said, “Yes; and that he had done all that the duchess had desired him, in speaking both to the king and queen, and that his friendship to the lord treasurer should prevail with him to use all his endeavours for his nephew.” Whereupon the chancellor shewed the duchess’s letter, and repeated to him again all that he had formerly said to Mr. Spencer, and asked him, “what the duke and his wife must think of him, if, instead of pursuing what they desired, he should solicit quite contrary to it.” He said, “that he might tell them that he was engaged by the

lord treasurer before he received their letter ;” and then talked passionately and indiscreetly “ of the affront the treasurer would think he received, if this were denied him ; and that all the world would say, that he might have compassed it, if he had not failed in his friendship.” To which he made no other answer, than “ that the doing so base a thing as he desired would more probably destroy that friendship with a man so punctual in honour and justice as the treasurer was, than any thing that he had done or should leave undone ;” and advised him not to make the business worse by his activity, and that if he had the king’s and queen’s promise, as he pretended, he might very well acquiesce till the duke came.”

724 However, his very great indiscretion and presumption made the thing much worse, by delivering messages from the king to the queen, and from her majesty to the king, that they both disavowed, and by his usual discourses, “ that it should now appear who had the most credit with the king, the duke or the treasurer, and how much the king would suffer, if he disobliged the treasurer ;” all which was quickly transmitted by the intelligence that was every day sent to York. On the other hand, he still advised the treasurer “ to continue his importunity to the king and queen,” (a thing the most contrary to his nature,) and assured him, “ that it would be grateful to them, and was expected by them.” Whereupon, as soon as the treasurer came to the court, which was not till the king came to Oxford, he went to both their majesties, and renewed his suit to them with more warmth and concernment than was customary to him, and received such an answer from both as very well satisfied him : and without doubt the king intended to persuade his brother to desist from pressing him further on the behalf of the other, for whom he had no kindness.

725 But the duke, who arrived by post the very next day, came in another temper than was expected. The intelli-



gence from Salisbury of the contest that was for that place, and the insolent behaviour and expressions used by the lord Crofts, had exceedingly moved him, and he looked upon the treasurer as engaged to try who had the greatest power, and [as] in opposition to him: so that the same night that he came to town, when the king and he were in private, he complained of it with much warmth; and he besought his majesty importunately “that he would declare, that the world might know who had most interest in his favour, he or the treasurer.” The king was so much put out of the method he intended to use in this affair, knowing that the expressions the duke had mentioned had been too often used by the lord Crofts, for which he had often reprehended him, that he presently applied that remedy which he thought most proper; and, after conference with the queen, signed the warrant for admitting Mr. Mountague into the office, who was sworn the next morning: so that the first news the treasurer heard, after both their majesties had the day before said all to him that he could desire, was, that the place was already full; which he received with more commotion than was natural to him, and looked upon it as a designed contrived affront, to expose him to contempt. “Why would not the king, if he had changed his mind after he left him, first sent him word of it, that he might have known his purpose?”

726 All this storm fell presently upon the chancellor: the lord Crofts assured him, “that it had been done at Salisbury, if he had not hindered it; that he had been with the duke before he spake with the king, and given him advice what tune he should speak in, which was used accordingly, and had prevailed; and that when he came into the duke’s chamber to kiss his hand, his highness turned away, and would not speak to him, which must proceed from the influence of the chancellor.” Whereas in truth the chancellor had only seen the duke in public,

and said no more to him than what he said in public, thinking it no good manners to trouble him with any private discourse, when he was so weary of his journey; nor did he know that any thing was done in that affair till the day after it was done, and after it was known to the treasurer. Upon the whole matter, how unwilling soever he was to believe that he could be so grossly faulty to him, when he saw the chancellor next, his countenance was not the same it used to be; which the other taking notice of, asked him, according to his usual familiarity, "what the matter was;" but received such an answer as made him discern that there was somewhat amiss: and so he said no more. The other being the same day with the king, the duke came into the room, and in his looks manifested a displeasure towards the treasurer, which confirmed the former jealousy of the chancellor; which was improved by the ladies, who did not like their lodging, and thought it proceeded from want of friendship in him, who had the power over the university, and might have assigned what lodgings he pleased to the treasurer; and he had assigned this, as the best house in the town for so great a family, and which their own servant had desired as the best in the town, as it was.

727 When the chancellor discovered the ground of this alteration, he grew out of humour too, and thought himself unworthily suspected: and so for two or three days the two friends came not together. And in that time the chancellor had enough to do to inform the duke, who was not only very much offended with the treasurer, but thought that he had been, out of his friendship to the treasurer, more remiss than he ought to have been in a business so earnestly recommended by him and his wife; and the intelligence from Salisbury had made reflections upon him as much as upon the other. But his royal highness willingly received information of all that had passed, and discerned the foul carriage of others as well

as of the lord Crofts; and was pleased to confess, “that he had done all he ought to do, and that he had been misinformed of the lord treasurer’s part in that affair, which had made him think amiss of him; which he would acknowledge to him next time he saw him.”

728 After this the chancellor, having a more clear view, upon conference with the king and the duke, of this pernicious design, which in some degree had compassed its end, if there grew a strangeness between the treasurer and him, went to him: and they being together without any others, he told him, “it should not be in his power to break friendship with him to gratify the humour of other people, without letting him know what the matter was,” which he conjured him to impart to him; assuring him, “that he would find that nothing was more impossible than that he could commit a fault towards him, and that they who wished well to neither of them had contrived this separation as the best way to hurt them both.” And when he saw that he did not yet open himself, he told him, “that he had heard that he had received some umbrage in the pretence of his nephew, and therefore he would give him an account of all that he knew of it,” which he did exactly; and concluded with a protestation, “that he had not known what had been done at Oxford till after he came from him, when he observed the change of his countenance towards him, of the cause of which he could not then make any conjecture.”

729 The treasurer thereupon with his usual freedom told him, “that if his part had been no other than as he related, he thought himself obliged to give him a narration of all he had done, and of the grounds and motives he had to think that he had failed in his friendship.” And thereupon he mentioned “the kindness and esteem he had for his nephew, whom he thought in all respects of birth and breeding at least as worthy of that relation as

the gentleman who was possessed of it; and yet that since he was not upon the place, he had no mind to engage himself in the suit: and that when his nephew had given him an account what the chancellor had said to him," which he did with great ingenuity, "and he knew that the duke of York appeared in it for another, he resolved to prosecute it no further; until the lord Crofts with all confidence assured him, that the king had promised him to confer the place upon Robert Spencer, and that both their majesties expected that he should make it his suit, to the end that they might thereby decline the importunity that he expected from his brother." He told him of some expressions he had used to the king in that affair, which the king himself had reported; and "that when he took his leave of the queen to go to Oxford," (which was the next day after Mr. Mountague came from York,) he dissuaded her majesty from receiving Mr. Spencer, alleging some reasons against it, which a lady who was near overheard, and informed the person of it who acquainted him with it: all which, with the king's and queen's so ample promises to him so few hours before the conferring the place upon another, and the duke of York's manner of receiving him after he had been shut up with him, as he was informed, might very well excuse him for thinking he had some share in the affront he had undergone."

730 To which the other replied, "that if indeed he did believe all that he had been told, he could not but think so; but," he said, "he thought he had known him better than to give credit to such reports, which must make him a fool and a knave: that for the words he should have used to the king or the queen, there had nothing passed like it to either of them, but that they were purely devised out of malice; which should be manifest unto him, for he would not speak a word of it to the king till they were both with him together, and then he would

ask before him what his carriage had been, and by his majesty's sudden answer he might judge of the report." He told him then, "how much he had suffered with the duke, and what excellent stories had been made to his royal highness of both of them, and of the good part the lord Crofts had acted, of which he was not without some evidence." After this eclaireissement, of the sincerity whereof every day administered new testimony, they both returned to their mutual confidence in each other: and they who had contrived this former device entered into a new confederacy, how they might first remove the treasurer, which would facilitate the pulling the chancellor down; of which anon.

731 Within a short time after the duke returned out of Yorkshire, his highness told the chancellor in confidence, "that he had two suits which he intended to make to the king, and with which he first acquainted him, that he might have his assistance in the obtaining them. The first was, in which he and his wife were equally engaged, to prevail with the king to make sir George Savile a viscount." He said, "he knew well the resolution the king had taken, to which he had contributed his advice, to make no more lords; but that he hoped in this particular case his majesty would upon his desire dispense with a general rule. That sir George had one of the best fortunes of any man in England, and lived the most like a great man; that he had been very civil to him and his wife in the north, and treated them at his house in a very splendid manner; and that he was engaged to prevail with the king in this point, or to confess he had no power, which he hoped he should not be without in this matter;" and asked his opinion.

732 The chancellor in his usual freedom, which he always took when he was to deliver his advice to the king or duke, said, "that he could not advise his highness to move the king in it; for besides that he knew the king's

positive determination, the departure from which might be of ill consequence, sir George Savile was a man of a very ill reputation amongst men of piety and religion, and was looked upon as void of all sense of religion, even to the doubting, if not denying, that there is a God, and that he was not reserved in any company to publish his opinions: which made him believe that it would neither be for his highness's honour to propose it, nor for the king's to grant it, in a time when all license in discourse and in actions was spread over the kingdom, to the heart-breaking of very many good [men], who had terrible apprehensions of the consequence of it." The duke was not at all pleased with his discourse, and said, "he was resolved to use all his credit with the king to compass it, and that he hoped, that whatever he thought, he would not oppose it."

733. The other particular was, "that he would move the king to make Mr. Coventry his secretary a privy counsellor;" and asked him "what he thought of that." To which he answered, "that his opinion in that point would please him no better than in the former. That he did not think it fit to be asked: and if the king his brother were inclined to be jealous of him, as some had endeavoured to persuade him, such an instance as this would very much confirm it; for never any prince of Wales had a servant of the highest degree about him called to the council, till his father called the earl of Newcastle, who was the prince's governor, to the board; which was not till upon the approach of the troubles he discerned that he should employ him in another charge. That the members of that board had been always those great officers of state, and other officers, who in respect of the places they held had a title to sit there, and of such few others who, having great titles and fortunes and interest in the kingdom, were an ornament to the table. That there were at present too many already, and the number

lessened the dignity of the relation : that his highness had already brought the lord Berkley thither, who had no manner of title to be there but his dependance upon him ; and now to bring in his secretary, for no other reason but for being his secretary, might be thought an encroachment, and be misinterpreted by the king.” He added, “ that his wrangling litigious nature would give the board much trouble ; and that he knew him to be so much his particular enemy, that he would watch all the opportunities to do him all possible ill offices to the king and to his royal highness.”

734 The duke replied only to the last, and said, “ he perceived somebody had done Will. Coventry ill offices, which he knew to be unjust and false : and that he could assure him, upon his own knowledge, that he had a great respect for him, and desired his favour ; and that he would pass his word for him, that he would never do any thing to disserve him, which if he should do, he should for ever lose his favour, which he knew well.” And no doubt the duke did believe all he said, for he had a perfect kindness for the chancellor ; and when he did not comply with what he wished, he knew that it was out of the integrity of his judgment, and his strict duty to the king and himself, and that he had never flattered or dissembled with either of them. And Mr. Coventry had skill enough to persuade him to believe what he desired should be true, though there were in the view of all men frequent instances of the contrary, and of the absence of all ingenuity and sincerity in his actions.

735 Within very few days after this conference, and when the duchess had made new instance with her father in the case of sir George Savile, and with more importunity than the duke, and appeared more concerned and troubled that he should not be more forward to comply with the duke’s desires, (but the chancellor, who always with the respect that was due to her quality preserved the dignity

of a father very entire, would give no other answer than he had done to the duke, and advised her to dissuade him from making the request to the king;) his highness one day desired the king that he would retire into his closet, and call the chancellor to him: and when they three were together in the room, after a short discourse of letters which he had received from the earl of Sandwich, which there will be occasion anon to mention at large, the duke told the king, "he had an humble suit to his majesty;" and then spake much of the great interest that sir George Savile had in the northern parts, of the greatness of his estate, and his orderly and splendid way of living, and concluded with his desire, "that his majesty would make him an English viscount." Upon which the king presently put him in mind "of the resolution he had formerly made in that room, and he thought upon his own motion, but he was sure it had been with his concurrence and approbation."

736 The duke replied, "that he remembered it very well, and thought he should do well still in the general to observe it: yet it was in those cases always supposed, that an extraordinary case might fall out, that might produce an exception; and he did most humbly beseech his majesty, that he would, upon his very earnest interposition, from which nobody could make a precedent, dispense with the rule." He did confess, "that he was so confident of his majesty's favour, that he had given sir George Savile cause to believe that he would prevail in that suit; which if he should not do, he must be thought either not to have intended what he promised, or to have no credit with his majesty, neither of which would be for his honour."

737 The king replied roundly, and with more presence of mind than he had always about him, "that it was absolutely necessary to be very precise in the observation of the rule, which if he should once break, a world of incon-



veniences would break in upon him, which he could not defend himself against." He named two or three persons who were very solicitous for honours, and had several pretences to it, and his majesty had only been able to resist and evade their importunity by objecting this declared resolution to them. The plain truth is; he had made some promise (a weakness he was too often liable to) to those persons or to their friends, "that when he should make any new creations, they should be sure to be in the number:" nor did he apprehend any inconvenience from redeeming himself from the present importunity, which was still grievous to him, since he had resolved to make no new creation. And this was the true reason that made him now so inexorable to his brother, who was very much troubled, and declined to move any thing else in so unlucky a season, not without some apprehension, from the king's quicker way of discourse, that he had been prepared for it by the chancellor, who though present had not spoke one word in the debate, nor indeed ever informed the king of the conference his highness had formerly held with him upon that subject, nor ever spoken to him concerning it.

738 However, in this perplexity, as the duke thought it necessary to inform Mr. Coventry, who had principally advanced this pretence, all that had passed before the king, that his nephew (for so sir George Savile was) might see he could make no further progress in it; so in the passion he unwarily told him all that had passed in the former conference with the chancellor, which he took care should not be concealed from any who were like to be willing to revenge it. And the duke, to shew how willing he was to oblige the family, immediately received a younger brother of sir George Savile, whom he had only seen in the north, to wait upon him in his bedchamber; who being a young man of wit, and incredible confidence and presumption, omitted no occasion to vent his

malice against the chancellor, with a license that in former times would have been very penal, though it had concerned a person of a much inferior quality in the state.

739 Within a short time after, the king told the chancellor, “that his brother had desired him that his secretary Mr. Coventry might be admitted of the privy-council, which he could not deny, but had promised it should be done at the next meeting;” which was accordingly done, and he knighted: and quickly after, upon the like desire of the duke, he was called to that committee with which his majesty used to consult his most secret affairs. And from this time there was an alteration in the whole carriage and debate of all manner of business: and as the chancellor had found his own credit with the king much diminished from the time of the lord Arlington’s being secretary; so a greater decrease of it was now visible to all men from the access of this new counsellor.

740 The lord Arlington had not the gift of speaking nor of a quick conception, and so rarely contradicted any thing in council: his talent was in private, where he frequently procured, very inconveniently, changes and alterations from public determinations. But sir William Coventry (between whom and the other there was an entire conjunction and combination) was a man of quick parts and a ready speaker, unrestrained by any modesty or submission to the age, experience, or dignity of other men, equally censorious of what had been done before he was a counsellor, as solicitous in contradiction of whatsoever was proposed afterwards: insomuch as the very first time that he was admitted to the private committee, the debate being about providing money to be paid at a day approaching to the bishop of Munster, according to the king’s obligation, he said, “we had need enough of money for our own immediate occasions: and that we ought not to assign any to the advancement of the affairs of other men.” Whereupon he was informed “of the treaty the

king had entered into, and that the bishop was at that time upon his march, which was by every body looked upon as of great importance to his majesty ;” to which he answered, “ that he had heard somewhat of it, how secretly soever it had been carried, and that he had never liked it from the beginning, nor would give his consent that any more money should be paid towards it ;” which the king himself looked upon as a rare impudence.

741 His great ambition was to be taken notice of for opposing and contradicting whatsoever was proposed or said by the chancellor or treasurer, towards whom all other counsellors, how little soever they cared for their persons, had ever paid respect in regard of their offices. He was a declared enemy to all lawyers, and to the law itself ; and any thing passed under the great seal of England was of no more authority with him than if it were the scroll of a scrivener. He had no principles in religion or state ; of one mind this day, and another to-morrow ; and always very uneasy to those who were obliged to consult with him ; whose pride and insolence will administer frequent occasions of mention throughout the ensuing relation.

742 The king had not been many days in Oxford, when news arrived that the earl of Sandwich had been engaged in some conflict with the Dutch fleet ; of the particulars whereof there was a general longing to be advertised. The truth was, that whilst the earl rode, after the business of Bergen, as near that coast as was safe, in expectation of the Dutch fleet, the winds, which are always tempestuous in that season of the year, September, made it absolutely necessary for him to remove with his whole fleet to the coast of Scotland, where there were harbours enough for him to ride safe ; and in this interval of time De Ruyter was passed by towards that of Norway. The news of their Indian fleet having been attacked by the English in Bergen, and the letters of some of their officers, which implied as if they were not satisfied in the

security of the port and of the fidelity of the governor, produced a wonderful consternation in Holland; and if they should be deprived of that wealth, the very company of the East Indies would be in danger of being dissolved.

743 The fleet was ready to set sail, under the command of De Ruyter, well fitted and manned: but there were still so many factions amongst the captains and other officers, that might upon any accidents produce many mischiefs; for the better prevention whereof, the pensionary De Wit was willing to venture his own person, believing himself to be as secure any where as on shore, if any misfortune should befall the fleet. And so he was by a special commission made plenipotentiary, with an ample allowance for his table, and a guard of halberdiers for the safety of his person, with a good train of volunteers: and so he put himself on board the ship of De Ruyter, who received orders from him.

744 The earl of Sandwich, after he had received advertisements of the Dutch fleet's being passed by for Norway, took all the care he could to put himself and his fleet in the way of their return. They made a short stay on the coast of Norway, where upon good consideration their ships were dismissed, and loud clamour raised against the hostility of the English. And notwithstanding all the vigilance the earl could use, the darkness and length of the nights so favoured them, that he could not engage their whole fleet, as he endeavoured to do: yet he had the good fortune in two encounters to take eight of their great ships of war, two of their best East India ships, and about twenty of their other merchant ships, which were all under the protection of their fleet, or ought to have been. After which he was by tempest driven to put the fleet into security in the English harbours, it being already the month of October.

745 It was a fair booty, and came very opportunely to supply the present necessities of the navy, and to provide

for the setting out of the next fleet at spring, and was in truth gotten with very good conduct, and without any considerable damage : but it being much less than was expected, (for whatsoever was upon the sea was looked upon as our own,) the news no sooner arrived at Oxford, but intelligence came with it of many oversights which had been committed and opportunities lost, otherwise it had been easy to have taken the whole fleet ; and that it might have been pursued further when it was in view, after those East India ships were taken, which were indeed surprised and boarded at the break of day, when they thought themselves in the middle of their own fleet. And it is as true that the earl did then pursue to engage the fleet, till they were got so near the French shore, that the wind blowing in to the land, it was by all the flag-officers thought absolutely necessary to give over the chase.

- 746 Sir William Coventry, who had never paid a civility to any worthy man but as it was a disobligation to another whom he cared less for, and so had only contributed to the preferment of the earl of Sandwich in the last expedition that he might cross prince Rupert, received much intelligence from several officers in the fleet, which he scattered abroad to the prejudice of the earl, and was willing that it should be believed that he had been too wary in avoiding danger. But the king and the duke were very just to the earl, and discountenanced all those reports as scandals and calumnies : and the duke, who had seen his behaviour in the most dangerous action, gave him a loud testimony “ of a prudent and brave commander, and as forward and bold in the face of danger as the occasion required or discretion permitted.” And his highness undertook “ that he had in all this expedition done what a man of honour was obliged to do,” and was abundantly satisfied (as his majesty likewise was) with the rich prizes he had brought home, which had caused

equal lamentation in Holland, and almost broke the heart of De Wit himself. But what success soever the earl had at sea, it was his misfortune to do an unadvised action when he came into the harbour, that lessened the king's own esteem of him, and to a great degree irreconciled the duke to him, and gave opportunity to his enemies to do him much prejudice.

747 It was a constant and a known rule in the admiralty, that of any ship that is taken from the enemy bulk is not to be broken, till it be brought into the port and adjudged lawful prize. It seems that when the fleet returned to the harbour, the flag-officers petitioned or moved the earl of Sandwich, "in regard of their having continued all the summer upon the seas with great fatigue, and been engaged in many actions of danger, that he would distribute amongst them some reward out of the Indian ships;" which he thought reasonable, and inclined to satisfy them, and writ a letter to the vice-chamberlain to inform the king of it, and "that he thought it fit to be done;" to which the vice-chamberlain, having shewed the letter to the king, returned his majesty's approbation. But before the answer came to his hand, he had executed the design, and distributed as much of the coarser goods to the flag-officers, as by estimation was valued to be one thousand pounds to each officer, and took to the value of two thousand pounds for himself. This suddenly made such a noise and outcry, as if all the Indian and other merchant ships had been plundered by the seamen: and they again cried out as much, that no care was taken of them, but all given to the flag-officers; which the other captains thought to be an injury to them.

748 The general (who had nothing like kindness for the earl of Sandwich, whose service he thought had been too much considered and recompensed by the king at his arrival) had notice of it before it came to Oxford; and, according to his universal care, (which was afterwards

found to proceed from private animosity,) sent orders to all the port towns, to seize upon goods which were brought in shallops from the fleet; and gave advertisement to Oxford of the extraordinary ill consequence of that action, and “that it would spoil the sale of all that remained of those ships, since the East India company, which probably would have been the best chapmen, would not now be forward to buy, since so much was disposed of already to other hands as would spoil their market.” And by this time the earl himself had given an account of all that had been done, and the motives, to the duke. The king was justly displeased for the expedition he had used, “Why had his approbation been desired, when he resolved to do the thing before he could receive an answer?” [yet] was glad that he had done so, because he would have been more excusable if he had received it.

- 749 But the duke, who had been constantly kind to the earl, was offended in the highest degree, and thought himself injured and affronted beyond any precedent. “This most unjustifiable action could proceed only from two fountains: the one of extreme vanity and ambition, to make himself popular amongst the officers of the fleet, who ought not to have been gratified by him at the king’s charge. When any such bounty should be seasonable, it was the duke’s province to have been the author, and the conduit to have conveyed it: he had himself been an eyewitness of their behaviour in their greatest action; and for the earl to assume the rewarding them by his own authority, was to defraud and rob him of his proper right and jurisdiction.” And he looked upon his having desired the king’s allowance by the vice-chamberlain, as a trick and an aggravation; for he ought to have asked his advice, as his superior officer: and the poor vice-chamberlain underwent his share in the reproach, for having presumed to move the king in a particular, that, if it was to be moved at all, had been to be moved by the duke. “The

other fountain which might produce this presumption might be avarice," which was the sole blemish (though it never appeared in any gross instance) that seemed to cloud many noble virtues in that earl, who now became a very pregnant evidence of the irresistible strength and power of envy ; which though it feeds on its own poison, and is naturally more grievous to the person who harbours it than to him that is maligned, yet when it finds a subject it can effectually work upon, it is more insatiable in revenge than any passion the soul is liable unto.

750 He was a gentleman of so excellent a temper and behaviour, that he could make himself no enemies ; of so many good qualities, and so easy to live with, that he marvellously reconciled the minds of all men to him, who had not intimacy enough with him to admire his other parts : yet was in the general inclinations of men upon some disadvantage. They who had constantly followed the king whilst he as constantly adhered to Cromwell, and knew not how early he had entertained repentance, and with what hazards and dangers he had manifested it, did believe the king had been too prodigal in heaping so many honours upon him. And they who had been familiar with him and of the same party, and thought they had been as active as he in contributing to the revolution, considered him with some anger, as one who had better luck than they without more merit, and who had made early conditions : when in truth no man in the kingdom had been less guilty of that address ; nor did he ever contribute to any advancement to which he arrived, by the least intimation or insinuation that he wished it, or that it would be acceptable to him. Yet upon this blast the winds rose from all quarters, reproaches of all sorts were cast upon him, and all affronts contrived for him.

751 The earl had conveyed that part of the goods which he had assigned to himself in a shallop to Lynn, from whence it could pass by water to his own house. An officer in



that port seized upon it by virtue of the general's warrant, and would cause it presently to be unladen, which he began to do. But the servants of the earl appealed to the other officers in equal authority, to whom they brought a letter with them from the earl of Sandwich, in which he owned all those goods to be his, (amongst which were his bedding and furniture for his cabin, and all his plate, and other things suitable,) and likewise a note of all the other goods which might be liable to pay custom; and desired them "to send one of their searchers with the boat to his house, where he should receive all their dues, without being unladen in the port;" which, besides the delay, would be liable to many inconveniences. The officer who had first arrested it, and who had dependance upon a great man of the country, who was not unwilling that any affront should be put upon the earl, roughly refused to suffer it to pass without being first unladen; but being overruled by the other officers, vented his anger in very unmannerly language against the earl: of all which he, being advertised by his servants, sent a complaint to the lords of the council, and desired "the fellow might be sent for and punished;" which could not be refused, though it proved troublesome in the inquiry. For the officer, who was a gentleman of a fair behaviour and good repute, denied all those words which carried in them the worst interpretation; but justified the action, and produced the general's warrant, which had unusual expressions, and apparent enough to have a particular and not a general intention.

752 The general had quick advertisement of it, and writ very passionately from London, "that an officer should be sent for without having committed any other offence than in obeying and executing a warrant of his:" and the other great man, who was of great importance to the king's service, and in the highest trust in that country, writ several letters, "how impossible it would be to carry

on the king's service in that country, if that officer should be punished for doing that, when he ought to be punished if he had not done it ;” and therefore desired, “that he might be repaired by them who had caused him to be sent for.”

753 Sir William Coventry had now full sea-room to give vent to all his passions, and to incense the duke, who was enough offended without such contributions : “if this proceeded from covetousness, it was not probable that it would be satisfied with so little ; and therefore it was probable, that though the officers might not have received above the value of one thousand pounds,” which was assigned to each, “yet himself would not be contented with so little as two thousand ; and they might therefore well conceive that he had taken much more, which ought to be examined with the greatest strictness.” There had been nothing said before of not taking advantage enough upon the enemy in all occasions which had been offered, and of not pursuing them far enough, which was not now renewed, [with] advice, “that he might be presently sent for ;” though it was known that, as soon as he could put the ships into the ports to which they were designed, he would come to Oxford. And there were great underhand endeavours, that the house of commons might be inflamed with this miscarriage and misdemeanor, and present it as a complaint to the house of peers, as fit to be examined and brought to judgment before that tribunal. And they, who with all the malice imaginable did endeavour in vain to kindle this fire, persuaded the king and the duke, “that by their sole activity and interest it was prevented for that time, because the session was too short, and that all necessary evidence could not be soon produced at Oxford ; but that, as soon as the plague should cease to such a degree in London that the parliament might assemble there, it would be impossible to restrain the house of commons from pursuing that complaint,” of which

nobody thought but themselves and they who were provoked by them.

- 754 The earl of Sandwich had so good intelligence from Oxford, that he knew all that was said of him, and began to believe that he had done unadvisedly in administering occasion of speaking ill to those who greedily sought for it: and as soon as his absence from the fleet could be dispensed with, he made haste to Oxford, and gave so full an account of every day's action, from the time that he went to sea to the day of his return, and of his having never done any thing of importance, nor having left any thing undone, but with and by the advice of the council of war, upon the orders he had received, that both the king and the duke could not but absolve him from all the imputations of negligence or inadvertency.
- 755 But for the breaking bulk, and the circumstances that attended it, they declared they were unsatisfied. And he confessed "that he had been much to blame," and asked pardon, and with such excuses as he thought might in some degree plead for him. He protested, "it seemed to him to have had some necessity: that the whole fleet was in a general indisposition, and complained, that for all that summer action" (which indeed had been full of merit) "they had nothing given to them, not without some muttering that they would have somewhat out of those Indian ships before they would part with them; insomuch as he had a real apprehension that they had a purpose to plunder them. And he should have feared more, if he had not complied with the flag-officers' importunity: and thereupon he consented that they should have each of them the value of one thousand pounds, and which he was most confident the goods which had been delivered to them did not exceed." He confessed "he had not enough considered the consequence, and that they who had not received any donative would be more displeased, than they who had it were satisfied with it; which he acknow-

ledged was the case: that he was heartily sorry for permitting any such thing to be done, and more for having taken any himself, and humbly [asked] pardon for both; and [desired] that his own part, which remained entire, might be restored to the ship from whence it had been taken, which he would cause to be done."

756 A more ingenuous acknowledgment could not be made: and they who could not but observe many persons every day excused for more enormous transgressions, did hope that he, who had so few faults to answer for, would have been absolved for that trespass. And the king himself used him very graciously, and so did the duke; and he was sent back to the fleet, to give order for the sending out a winter-guard and ordering all other maritime affairs, and for the sending up the India ships into the river, with great care that none of the seamen should go on shore, where the plague still raged little if at all less than it had done in the summer: and so he himself and most other men believed and were glad, that an ill business was so well composed. But sir William did not intend that it should end there.

757 The present business, that must admit no interruption, was the raising what money might be to supply the present necessities of the fleet, to pay the seamen, and to make all preparations to set out the fleet against the spring, when the French ships would be infallibly ready to join with the Dutch; and the money that was given by the parliament would not be paid till long after; and the affairs of the bankers were in such disorder by the death of servants, and the plague having been in some of their houses, that the usual course of advancing monies by assignments could not be depended upon. The general had written to the lord treasurer, "that he thought that there could not be so good chapmen for those ships as the East India company, some whereof had been with him to know the king's pleasure; and if authority were granted to any

men to treat upon that affair, they would send for members enough of their company, who were dispersed in the country, to be present at a court, which would authorize a committee to treat and contract with them :” and he said, “that he was confident that half the money would be paid upon the making the bargain.” The king was no sooner advertised of this overture, than he sent sir George Carteret and Mr. Ashburnham to London, to confer with the general and to be advised by him, and granted authority to them three to sell those two prizes to those who would give most. And they found no overtures to be so advantageous as those which were made by that company : and yet they made so much use of the advantage of the time, when all men of notorious wealth were out of the town, that they thought not fit to make any agreement till they gave the king an account of the whole transaction, with their opinions, upon conference with other men of business ; and to that purpose the two persons who had been sent to the general returned safe to Oxford.

758 It hath been mentioned before, that it was thought a great presumption in any body to presume to interpose in the maritime affairs, which was interpreted to be an invasion of the duke’s peculiar [province] ; and by this means the credit of sir William Coventry was so absolute, that the disposal of all was in his power. He had persuaded the duke, and the lord Arlington, who was in firm conjunction with him, had prevailed with the king to believe, “that the house of commons was so incensed against the lord Sandwich for his late presumption, that it would not be possible to hinder them in their next assembling” (which was appointed or resolved to be in April, if it pleased God to extinguish the sickness) “ [from falling] very severely upon the earl of Sandwich, which would be a very great dishonour to the king, if he were at that time in the command of the fleet ; and that there was no way to preserve him”

(for that was their method when they had a mind to ruin a man, to pretend a great care that he might not be undone) “but by dismissing him from that charge, which probably might preserve him from being further questioned, since it would be interpreted a punishment inflicted on him by the king for his crime, and so might stop him from being further prosecuted for the same offence.” To which they added, “that it would be necessary in another respect ; for that many of the officers, as well as common seamen, had opened their mouths very wide against him, especially after it was generally known that the king and the duke were offended with him, and had not been at all reserved in charging him with several reproaches : and that if the same command were still continued in him, it could not be presumed that those men would ever put themselves under his command whom they had so much provoked.”

759 These arguments, urged by men who were not known, at least by the king and duke, to be his enemies, and one of them thought to be (and in truth was, but for his conjunction with the other) his friend, and to wish him very well, prevailed upon the judgments of both of them ; in-somuch as they resolved to confer with the chancellor, whom they knew to be much the earl's friend. And they both expressed “very much kindness to and confidence in the affection and integrity and courage of the earl of Sandwich, though he was to be blamed for his late indiscretion, and a resolution with their utmost power to defend him from undergoing any disgrace by it : but that it would contribute most to his preservation, that he quitted the employment, and that some other persons should be sent to command the next fleet in the spring. For if he should again go to sea, and [the] parliament should press to have him sent for, to answer what they had to object against him, his majesty must either refuse to consent to it, which would make a breach with his

parliament, or by consenting disorder his maritime affairs to that degree, that the enemy could not but take very great advantage of it." Therefore they commanded the chancellor to confer with him and discourse the whole matter to him, to [assure] him "of the king's and duke's favour, and that they were in this particular moved only by their tenderness to him; and that some expedient should be first found out to remove him with honour, before any notice should be taken of the purpose to remove him, and before any other person should be deputed to the command; and that he himself should either propose the expedient, if any such occurred to him that would be grateful, or judge of any that should be proposed to him."

760 The chancellor did presume to declare, "that he thought that they were persuaded to apprehend somewhat that could not fall out. That he would not take upon him to excuse the earl of Sandwich for any offence he had committed: if it were of that magnitude that his majesty thought fit to remove him from his command, nobody could censure it; and it may be, in a time of so much license, the severity might be thought seasonable. But the apprehension that the parliament would take more notice of what the earl had done, than they would of any other breach of order that was every day committed, was without any just reason." But that argument was presently silenced by their undertaking to know somewhat that the other could not do, and that there was no other way to preserve [him] but that which was proposed.

761 There was at that time an opportunity in view, that might give the earl of Sandwich an employment very worthy of him, and which no man could imagine would be assigned to any man who was in disgrace. Sir Richard Fanshaw, who was a gentleman very well known and very well beloved, had been first ambassador in Portugal, and had behaved himself so well there, that when he returned

from thence, he was recommended, and upon the matter desired, by that crown to be sent to Spain, as the fittest person to mediate in the king's name between Spain and Portugal; and the king had before designed to send him ambassador into Spain, as well to settle a treaty between England and Spain, (for there was none yet,) as to do all the offices between those other crowns which were requisite to the end aforesaid. No man knew that court [better], or was so well versed in the language, having lived many years before in that court in much better times. He had remained now about two years, with such frequent mortifications as ministers use to meet with in courts irresolute and perplexed in their own affairs, as the counsels of Madrid were in the last years of the king, as his indisposition increased, or by relaxing administered some hope. He had made a journey to Lisbon upon the earnest desire of Spain, and returned without effect. The peace was equally desired and equally necessary to both nations: but the Portugal [was] unmoveable in the conditions of it, preferring the worst that could fall out, even the abandoning their country, rather than to be without the sovereignty of it; and the Spaniard as positive not to part with their title, though they had no hope of their subjection. Nor did Spain appear solicitous to conclude any treaty with England, except either Portugal might be comprehended in it or abandoned by it.

762 On a sudden, when the recovery or long continuance of the king grew more desperate, (which is never a thing notoriously known in that court,) a project for a treaty was sent to the ambassador, containing more advantages in trade to the nation, (which are the most important matters in all those treaties,) and insisting upon fewer inconvenient conditions than had ever been in any former treaties; without any mention of Tangier or Jamaica, which had hitherto in the entrance into any treaty since the king's return made the progress impossible: only it



was urged, “that it might either be presently accepted and signed by the ambassador, with a covenant that it should be confirmed by the king within so many days after it should be presented to him, or else that there should be no more mention or discourse of it.”

763 The ambassador, surprised with this overture, compared what was offered with what he was to demand by his instructions; and what was defective in those particulars he added to the articles presented to him, with such additions as, upon his own observation and conference with the merchants, occurred to him, or which seemed probable to be granted from somewhat themselves had offered more than had been demanded by him. These alterations and amendments were approved and consented to, and quickly returned engrossed and signed by the king, on condition to be presently signed by him, with the undertaking that is formerly mentioned. It had been wisely done by the ambassador, and no more than his duty, if he had first acquainted his master or the ministers with all that had passed, and expected a particular order before he had signed it. But that being expressly refused, without concealing the reason or the king’s weakness, “which,” they declared, “might make such an alteration in counsels, that if it were not done in his lifetime, they knew not what might happen after:” this was thought as good an argument by him for the despatch, as it was to them; and that if he should not make use of this conjuncture, there would never be the like advantageous treaty offered again. Hereupon he presently signed the treaty, with some secret article which was not to the advantage of Portugal, otherwise than that he concluded, by what had been said to him at Lisbon, it would have been acceptable to them.

764 This treaty was no sooner brought to the king by the Spanish ambassador, (who had received it by an express,) and perused at the council-table, but many gross faults were found to be in it. Besides the gentleman’s absence,

who would with greater abilities have defended himself than any of those who had reproached him, it was no advantage to him that he was known to be much in the chancellor's confidence: and therefore the more pain was taken to persuade the king that he was a weak man, (which the king himself knew him not to be;) and they put such a gloss upon many of the articles, and rejected others as unprofitable which were thought to contain matters of great moment, [that] they would not consent that a trade to the West Indies could be any benefit to England, and the like. In the end, the king concluded that he would not sign the treaty; for which he had some access of reason within a month after, by the death of the king of Spain.

765 When all these reproaches were cast upon the ambassador, and notice given that the king did disavow the treaty and refused to sign it; it was reasonably resolved that he ought not to remain there longer as ambassador, but to be recalled. But the plague driving the king from London and dispersing the council, the pursuing this resolution was no more assumed, till the business of the earl of [Sandwich] made it thought on as a good expedient; and the chancellor was directed in his discourse with the earl to mention it, as a proper expedient in his condition to be laid hold on and embraced.

766 The chancellor entered upon the whole discourse with that freedom and openness that became a man who he knew was not suspected by him. He told him all that himself knew of the affair, and the apprehension the king had of the parliament, and the expedient he had thought of to remove him out of the reach or noise of clamour, of which he made him the judge; and "if he did not like this [employment] for Spain, some other should be thought of and published before it should be known, and before the command of the fleet should be committed to any other."

767 The earl of Sandwich lamented “that it had been in any body’s power to make so ill impressions in the king and the duke, upon his having committed a trespass, for which he was heartily sorry;” and confessed “it was a presumption and indiscretion, the ill consequence whereof he had not had wit enough to discover: however, he did not yet think it so great, as to make him fear to give an account of it before the parliament, or any thing that they could do upon it.” He seemed not to be ignorant of the offices sir William Coventry did him, “in drawing complaints and reproaches from those who had neither cause nor inclination to speak to his disadvantage. He was sensible of the general’s want of justice towards him, which he knew not to what to impute, but to his pride and weakness. He did acknowledge it great bounty in the king, since he thought him unfit and unworthy to continue in the command he had, that he would yet assign him to so honourable an employment; which, though it could not wipe off the reproach of being dismissed from the other charge, was yet a sufficient evidence that he was not out of his majesty’s good opinion and confidence: and therefore he did with all cheerfulness submit to his majesty’s pleasure, and would be ready for his journey to Spain as soon as his despatch should be prepared.”

768 He told him then, “that he was in one respect glad to be removed from his present command, for he was confident that he would see no more great matters done at sea, for that the common men were weary of the war; and that sir William would never suffer any peace to be in the fleet, but had creatures ready to do all ill offices amongst them, whom he cherished and preferred before the best officers;” and told him many other things which fell out afterwards, and said, “sir William would make any man who should succeed him weary of his command, by sending such variety of orders that he would not

know what to do.” And shortly after, he gave him a perfect journal of his last expedition, in which there were indeed many orders which must needs startle and perplex a commander in chief, it being his usual course to signify the duke’s pleasure in matters of the greatest importance without the duke’s hand; which yet they durst not disobey, nor produce in their own justification, being such as in truth were no such warrants as they ought to obey, and yet would reflect upon his royal highness: and told him likewise of the ill inventions he had set on foot, by which prince Rupert was stopped from being joined with him in the command of the last fleet.

769 When the chancellor had informed the king of the earl of Sandwich’s submission to his pleasure, and that he would be ready to undertake the employment for Spain as soon as his majesty pleased; hereupon the king declared his resolution in council to send the earl of Sandwich his extraordinary ambassador, as well to correct and amend the mistakes and errors in the late treaty, [as] further to mediate the peace with Portugal, which upon the death of the king was in some respect more practicable. And to that purpose he sent sir Robert Southwell, one of the clerks of the council, envoy into Portugal, that the earl might the better know the inclinations of that people: and all instructions necessary were presently to be prepared to both those ends.

770 This first work being thus despatched, it remained to settle the command, for the ensuing year, of the fleet; and there can be little doubt made, but that the king and the duke had resolved this at the same time that they determined that the earl of Sandwich should not continue in it: however, it was communicated to nobody, till the designation of the other was published. Then the king told the chancellor, “that his brother and he had long considered that affair, and could not think of any expedient so good for the performance of that ser-

vice, as a conjunction between prince Rupert and the general, and making them both joint commanders in chief of the fleet for the next expedition." There had many exceptions occurred to them against committing the charge to either of them singly; nor were they without apprehension of some which might fall out by joining them together, which would be much greater, if they were not both well prepared to embrace the occasion, and themselves to like the designation. For the doing this the chancellor was again thought to be the fittest man, being believed to have the greatest interest in both of them, and most in him from whom the greatest difficulties were expected to arise, which was prince Rupert. It was easy to know prince Rupert's mind, who was in the house: yet they were both in cases of that nature desirous always to impart what they desired by others, rather than to debate it first themselves. But then the general was at London, besieged by the plague; and the matter was not fit to be communicated by letter, because, if he should make any scruple of concurring in it, it was to be declined.

- 771 Upon these considerations it was resolved, first, that the chancellor should prepare prince Rupert, and then that the general should be sent for to Oxford upon pretences, of which enough would occur. The prince, though he was much more willing to have gone alone, willingly conformed to the king's pleasure: and so both the king and duke spake at large with him upon all that was necessary to be adjusted. And the general was sent to "that it was necessary for the king to confer with him upon some propositions, which were made to him upon the East India ships," (which transaction was not at that time yet concluded;) "and therefore that on such a day he should come from London early in the morning," (for it was deep winter,) "in his own coach to Beaconsfield, where he should find another coach ready to receive him,

and another at another stage; so that he might be with ease at Oxford the same night," as he was, and very graciously received by the king, as he deserved to be. But as he had no manner of imagination of the true reason why he was sent for, so neither his majesty nor the duke would impart it to him, out of real imagination that it would not be grateful to him; but that was left to be imparted and dexterously managed by the chancellor, in whom, as was said before, it was generally believed that he had great confidence.

772 He the next morning entered into conference with him, and after general discourses told him, "that the king had disposed the earl of Sandwich to another employment, for which he did not seem sorry; and that it must be now thought of, who was fit to command in his place: that there was no hope of peace, instead whereof there would be an entire conjunction between France and the Dutch; and that the French fleet" (the ambassadors being about this time gone) "would be ready to join with them as soon as they should put to sea; and there was much doubt that the Dane would betake himself to the same alliance; and all would be at sea before we should be, except extraordinary diligence were used, which the continuance of the plague would hardly admit." The general presently answered, "that no person was so fit for that command as prince Rupert, who understood the seas well, and had that courage that was necessary in this conjuncture."

773 The chancellor told him, "that the king had great confidence in the affection and unquestionable courage of prince Rupert: but he was not sure, that the quickness of his spirit and the strength of his passion might not sometimes stand in need of the advice and assistance of a friend, who should be in equal authority with him; and had therefore thought of finding some fit person to be joined with him, and so make one admiral of two

persons." To which the other not replying suddenly, he continued his discourse, saying, "that the king had such a person in his view, whom he would never acquaint with it, until he might find some way to discover that the proposing it would not be ingrateful to him; and that he was obliged to make this discovery, and that the person in the king's view was himself; and that if he and prince Rupert were joined in the command of the fleet and undertook it, his majesty would believe that he had done all that was in his power, and would, with great hope, commit all the rest to God Almighty." He said, "he thought he had behaved himself most like a friend in telling him shortly and plainly what the king's drift was, towards which, though the secret was known to none but the duke of York, yet such an advance was made, that his majesty was well assured that prince Rupert would readily comply with his pleasure." Upon the whole matter he desired him to deal as like a friend with him, and to tell him freely if he had no mind to the employment; and he would take upon him to prevent the making the proposition to him, and that neither the king nor duke should take it unkindly."

- 774 The general appeared really surprised and full of thoughts; and after a short pause he desired him "not to believe that he made the least [difficulty] in his thoughts of undertaking the service; but many things had occurred to him in the discourse, which he would mention anon." He said, "that for his own part he should be willing to go out of London to-morrow, and think himself much safer in any action against the Dutch than he could be in the post he was, where every day men died about him and in his view; and as he thought that he had done the king better service by staying in London, than he could have done in any other place, so he believed, if the sickness should continue," (as it was like enough to do, there appearing yet very little de-

crease,) "his majesty might think that his presence might be as necessary there as it had been." The chancellor replied, "that his majesty had foreseen that contingency; and had already resolved, that if that fell out to be the case, he should rather desire his residence should be where it had been (though he was much troubled to expose him to so much hazard) than in any other place: but that his majesty's confidence in the mercy of God, that he would take off this heavy visitation before the end of winter, had suggested the other designation of him to the service of the fleet, upon the good conduct whereof his own and the kingdom's happiness so much depended."

775 The general quickly replied, "that for that matter he was so willing to engage himself, that if the king pleased, he would most readily serve under the command of prince Rupert:" to which the other answered as readily, "that the king would never consent to that." And so they resolved presently to go to the king, that his majesty and the duke might know what would please them so much. And as they were going, the general said smiling, "that he would tell him now what the true cause was, that had made that pause in him upon the first discourse of the business; and that it would be necessary for him, after all things should be adjusted with the king and duke and prince Rupert, that what concerned him should still remain a secret, and prince Rupert be understood to have that command alone. For if his wife should come to know it, before he had by degrees prepared her for it, she would break out into such passions as would be very uneasy to him: but he would in a short time dispose her well enough; and in the mean time nothing should be omitted on his part that was necessary for the advancement of the service." Hereupon the king, the duke, the prince, and the general consulted of all that was to be done: and he at the end of two days returned to London with the same expedition that he came to Oxford, to-



gether with sir George Carteret the treasurer of the navy, and all orders that were requisite for the sale of the East India ships, upon which all provisions for the fleet were to be made.

776 Though the parliament at Oxford had preserved that excellent harmony that the king had proposed, and hardly wished any thing in which they had not concurred, inso-much as never parliament so entirely sympathised with his majesty; and [though] it passed more acts for his honour and security than any other had ever done in so short a session: yet it introduced a precedent of a very unhappy nature, the circumstances whereof in the present were unusual and pernicious, and the consequences in the future very mischievous, and therefore not unfit to be set out at large.

777 The lord Arlington and sir William Coventry, closely united in the same purposes, and especially against the chancellor, had a great desire to find some means to change the course and method of the king's counsels; which they could hardly do whilst the same persons continued still in the same employments. Their malice was most against the chancellor: yet they knew not what suggestions to make to the king against him, having always pretended to his majesty, how falsely soever, to have a great esteem of him. Their project therefore was to remove the treasurer, who was as weary of his office and of the court as any body could be of him: but his reputation was so great, his wisdom so unquestionable, and his integrity so confessed, that they knew in neither of those points he could be impeached. And the king himself had kindness and reverence towards him, though he had for some years thought him less active, and so less fit for that administration, than every body else knew him to be: and these men had long insinuated unto his [majesty], "how ill all the business of the exchequer was managed by the continual infirmities of the treasurer,

who, between the gout and the stone, had not ease enough to attend the painful function of that office, but left the whole to be managed and governed by his secretary sir Philip Warwick ;” upon whose experience and fidelity he did in truth much rely, as he had reason to do, his reputation for both being very signal and universal. And towards fastening this reproach they had the contribution of the lord Ashley, who was good at looking into other men’s offices, and was not pleased to see sir Philip Warwick’s credit greater than his with the treasurer, and his advice more followed. And the other two had craftily insinuated to him, that he would make much a better treasurer ; which, whilst he thought they were in earnest, prevailed with him not only to suggest materials to them for that reproach, but to inculcate the same to the king upon several occasions : but when he discovered that they intended nothing of advantage to his particular, he withdrew from that intrigue, though in all other particulars he sided with them.

778 The king was too easy in making assignations upon his revenue, which would make it incapable to satisfy others which were more necessary, and to grant suits by lease or farm, (sometimes to worthy men,) which were of mischievous consequence to all the measures which could be taken ; and those the treasurer found himself obliged to stop : and commonly, upon informing the king of it and of his reasons, his majesty was very well pleased with what he had done, and (as hath been said before) did often give himself ease from the importunity of many, by signing the warrants they brought to him, in confidence that either the chancellor or treasurer would not suffer them to pass. However, it raised clamour ; and there were men enough who had the same provocation to make a great noise ; and they easily found countenance from others, who desired it should be believed, “ that it was a high arrogance and presumption in any subject to stop

any signature of the king, and so make his majesty's grace and bounty to be ineffectual, if his approbation and consent was not likewise procured." There was visibly great want of money, though there were vast sums of money raised; which they laboured to persuade the king proceeded from the unskilfulness or unactivity of the treasurer, who was again tired with the vexation and indignity, when he had so frequently presented the king with the particulars of the receipts and disbursements, and made it demonstrable how much his expenses exceeded all his income; and how impossible it would be, without lessening these, to provide wherewithal to supply [necessary occasions]: but this was an ungracious subject, and opened more mouths than could easily be stopped.

- 779 There was a man who hath been often named, sir George Downing, who by having been some years in the office of one of the tellers of the exchequer, and being of a restless brain, did understand enough of the nature of the revenue and of the course of the receipt, to make others who understood less of it to think that he knew the bottom of it, and that the expedients which should be proposed by him towards a reformation could not but be very pertinent and practicable. And he was not unhurt in the emoluments of his own office, which were lessened by the assignations made to the bankers, upon the receipts themselves, without the money's ever passing through the tellers' office; by which, though they did receive their just fees, they had not what they would have taken, if the money had passed through their own hands. He was a member of parliament, and a very voluminous speaker, who would be thought wiser in trade than any of the merchants, and to understand the mystery of all professions much better than the professors of them. And such a kind of chat is always acceptable in a crowd, (where few understand many subjects,) [who] are always glad to find those put out of countenance who thought they under-

stood it best: and so they were much pleased to hear sir George Downing inveigh against the ignorance of those, who could only smile at his want of knowledge.

780 This gentleman was very grateful to sir William Coventry as well as to lord Arlington, and was ready to instruct them in all the miscarriages and oversights in the treasury, and to propose ways of reformation to them. “The root of all miscarriage was the unlimited power of the lord treasurer, that no money could issue out without his particular direction, and all money was paid upon [no] other rules than his order; so that, let the king want as much as was possible, no money could be paid by his, without the treasurer’s warrant;” which, to men who understood no more than they did, seemed a very great incongruity. “But,” he said, “if there were such a clause inserted into the bill which was to be passed in the house of commons for money, it might prevent all inconveniences, and the king’s money would be paid only to those persons and purposes to which his majesty should assign them; and more money would be presently advanced upon this act of parliament than the credit of the bankers could procure;” for he foresaw that would be a very natural objection against his clause and the method he proposed.

781 He made his discourse so plausible to them, that they were much pleased with it; and it provided for so many of their own ends, that they neither did nor were able to consider the reverse of it, but were most solicitous that there might no obstructions arise in the way. If it should come to the knowledge of the chancellor, he would oppose it for the novelty, and the consequences that might attend it; and if the treasurer had notice of it, he would not consent to it for the indignity that his office was subjected to: they therefore discoursed it to the king as a matter of high importance to his service, if it were secretly carried; and then brought the projector, who was an indefatigable talker, to inform his majesty of the many

benefits which would accrue to his service by this new method that he had devised, and the many mischiefs which would be prevented.

782 There were so many things which were suggested, that were agreeable to some fancies that the king himself had entertained; there would not need now so many formalities, as warrants and privy seals, before monies could be paid; and money might hereafter issue out and be paid without the treasurer's privity; in which many conveniences seemed to appear: though besides the innovation and breach of all old order, which is ever attended by many mischiefs unforeseen, there were very great inconveniences in view in those very particulars which they fancied to be conveniences. But it was enough that the king so well liked the advice, upon conference with them three, that he resolved to communicate it with no others; but appointed, that when the bill for supply should be brought into the house, (it being to be, as was said before, for the sum of .....,) at the commitment Downing should offer that proviso, which had been drawn by himself, and read to the king and the other two. And because it was foreseen, that it would be opposed by many of those who were known to be very affectionate to the king's service, they had all authority privately to assure them, that it was offered with the king's approbation.

783 Against the time that the bill was to be brought in, they prepared the house by many unseasonable bitter invectives against the bankers, called them cheats, blood-suckers, extortioners, and loaded them with all the reproaches which can be cast upon the worst men in the world, and would have them looked upon as the causes of all the king's necessities, and of the want of monies throughout the kingdom: all which was a plausible argument, as all invectives against particular men are; and all men who had faculties of depraving, and of making ill things appear worse than they are, were easily engaged

with them. The bankers did not consist of above the number of five or six men, some whereof were aldermen, and had been lord mayors of London, and all the rest were aldermen, or had fined for aldermen. They were a tribe that had risen and grown up in Cromwell's time, and never [were] heard of before the late troubles, till when the whole trade of money had passed through the hands of the scriveners: they were for the most part goldsmiths, men known to be so rich, and of so good reputation, that all the money of the kingdom would be trusted or deposited in their hands.

784 From the time of the king's return, when though great and vast sums were granted, yet such vast debts were presently to be paid, the armies by land and sea to be presently discharged, [that] the money that was to be collected in six and six months would not provide for those present unavoidable issues; but there must be two or three hundred thousand pounds gotten together in few days, before they could begin to disband the armies or to pay the seamen off; the deferring whereof every month increased the charge to an incredible proportion: none could supply those occasions but the bankers, which brought the king's ministers first acquainted with them; and they were so well satisfied with their proceedings, that they did always declare "that they were so necessary to the king's affairs, that they knew not how to have conducted them without that assistance."

785 The method of proceeding with them was thus. As soon as an act of parliament was passed, the king sent for those bankers, (for there was never any contract made with them but in his majesty's presence:) and [he] being attended by the ministers of the revenue, and commonly the chancellor and others of the council, the lord treasurer presented a particular information to the king of the most urgent occasions for present money, either for disbanding troops, or discharging ships, or setting out fleets, (all which

are to be done together, and not by parcels;) so that it was easily foreseen what ready money must be provided. And this account being made, the bankers were called in, and told, “that the king had occasion to use such a sum of ready money within such a day; they understood the act of parliament, and so might determine what money they could lend the king, and what manner of security would best satisfy them.” Whereupon one said, “he would within such a time pay one hundred thousand pounds,” another more, and another less, as they found themselves provided; for there was no joint stock amongst them, but every one supplied according to his ability. They were desirous to have eight in the hundred, which was not unreasonable to ask, and the king was “willing to give:” but upon better consideration amongst themselves, they thought fit to decline that demand, as being capable of turning to their disadvantage, and would leave the interest to the king’s own bounty, declaring “that themselves paid six in the hundred for all the money with which they were intrusted,” which was known to be true.

786 Then they demanded such a receipt and assignment to be made to them by the lord treasurer, for the payment of the first money that should be payable upon that act of parliament, or a branch of that act, or tallies upon the farmers of the customs or excise, or such other branches of the revenue as were least charged; having the king’s own word and the faith of the treasurer, that they should be exactly complied with; for, let the security be what they could desire, it would still be in the power of the king or of the lord treasurer to divert what was assigned to them to other purposes. Therefore there is nothing surer, than that the confidence in the king’s justice, and the unquestionable reputation of the lord treasurer’s honour and integrity, was the true foundation of that credit which supplied all his majesty’s necessities and

occasions ; and his majesty always treated those men very graciously, as his very good servants, and all his ministers looked upon them as very honest and valuable men. And in this manner, for many years after his majesty's return, even to the unhappy beginning of the Dutch war, the public expenses were carried on, it may be, with too little difficulty, which possibly increased some expenses ; and nobody opened his mouth against the bankers, who every day increased in credit and reputation, and had the money of all men at their disposal.

- 787 The solicitor general brought in the bill for supply according to course, in that form as those bills for money ought and used to be : and after it had been read the second time, when it was committed, Downing offered his proviso, the end of which was, "to make all the money that was to be raised by this bill to be applied only to those ends to which it was given, which was the carrying on the war, and to no other purpose whatsoever, by what authority soever ;" with many other clauses in it so monstrous, that the solicitor, and many others who were most watchful for the king's service, declared against it, as introductive to a commonwealth, and not fit for monarchy. It was observed, "that the assignment of the money that was given by act of parliament to be paid in another manner and to other persons than had been formerly used, though there wanted not plausible pretences, was the beginning of the late rebellion, and furnished the parliament with money to raise a rebellion, when the king had none to defend himself ; which had made Cromwell wise enough never to permit any of those clauses, or that the impositions which were raised should be disposed to any uses or by any persons but by himself and his own orders." And by such and other arguments, which the contrivers had not foreseen, the proviso had been absolutely thrown out, if sir William Coventry and Downing had not gone to the solicitor and others who spake against



it, and assured them, “that it was brought in by the king’s own direction, and for purposes well understood by his majesty.” Upon which they were contented that it should be committed, yet with direction “that such and such expressions should be reformed and amended.”

788 In the afternoon the king sent for the solicitor, and forbade him any more to oppose that proviso, for that it was much for his service. And when he would inform him of many mischiefs which would inevitably attend it, some were of those which he had no mind to prevent, being to lessen their power who he thought had too much, and the other he cared not to hear; and said only, “that he would bear the inconveniences which would ensue upon his own account, for the benefits which would accrue, and which it was not yet seasonable to communicate with other members of the house of commons, whom he thought not to be so able to dispute it with him<sup>a</sup>.”

789 He enlarged more in discourse, and told them, “that this [would be an] encouragement to lend money, by making the payment with interest so certain and fixed, that there could be [no] security in the kingdom like it, when it should be out of any man’s power to cause any money that should be lent to morrow to be paid before that which was lent yesterday, but that all should be infallibly paid in order; by which the exchequer (which was now bankrupt and without any credit) would be quickly in that reputation, that all men would deposit their money there: and that he hoped in few years, by observing the method he now proposed, he would make his exchequer the best and the greatest bank in Europe,

<sup>a</sup> Something seems to be wanting here to make the sense clear. *Qu.* Whether what follows was spoken by Downing to the king, Arlington, and Coventry; or, by the king to the solicitor. In the latter case, *told them* (as it is in the MS.) should be altered to *told him*. [Note in the first edition.]

and where all Europe would, when it was once understood, pay in their money for the certain profit it would yield, and the indubitable certainty that they should receive their money." And with this discourse the vain man, who had lived many years in Holland, and would be thought to have made himself master of all their policy, had amused the king and his two friends, undertaking to erect the king's exchequer into the same degree of credit that the bank of Amsterdam [stood upon], the institution whereof he undertook to know, and from thence to make it evident, "that all that should be transplanted into England, and all nations would sooner send their money into the exchequer, than into Amsterdam or Genoa or Venice." And it cannot be enough wondered at, that this intoxication prevailed so far, that no argument would be heard against it, the king having upon those notions, and with the advice of those counsellors, in his own thoughts new-modelled the whole government of his treasury, in which he resolved to have no more superior officers. But this was only reserved within his own breast, and not communicated to any but those who devised the project, without weighing that the security for monies so deposited in banks is the republic itself, which must expire before that security can fail; which can never be depended on in a monarchy, where the monarch's sole word can cancel all those formal provisions which can be made, (as hath since been too evident,) by vacating those assignations which have been made upon that and the like acts of parliament, for such time as the present necessities have made counsellable; which would not then be admitted to be possible.

790 And so without any more opposition, which was not grateful to the king, that act passed the house of commons, with the correction only of such absurdities as had not been foreseen by those who framed the proviso, and

which did indeed cross their own designs: and so it was sent from the commons to the house of peers for their consent.

791 Bills of that nature, which concern the raising of money, seldom stay long with the lords; but as of custom, which they call privilege, they are first begun in the house of commons, where they endure long deliberation, so when they are adjusted there, they seem to pass through the house of peers with the reading twice and formal commitment, in which any alterations are very rarely made, except in any impositions which are laid upon their own persons, for which there are usually blanks left, the filling up whereof is all the amendment or alteration that is commonly made by the lords: so that the same engrossment that is sent up by the commons is usually the bill itself that is presented to the king for his royal assent. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt made, but that those bills of any kind of subsidies, as excise, chimney-money, or any other way of imposition, are as much the gift and present from the house of peers as they are from the house of commons, and are no more valid without their consent than without the consent of the other; and they may alter any clause in them that they do not think for the good of the people. But because the house of commons is the immediate representative of the people, it is presumed that they best know what they can bear or are willing to submit to, and what they propose to give is proportionable to what they can spare; and therefore the lords use not to put any stop in the passage of such bills, much less diminish what is offered by them to the king.

792 And in this parliament the expedition that was used in all business out of fear of the sickness, and out of an impatient desire to be separated, was very notorious: and as soon as this bill for supply was sent to the lords, very many members of the house of commons left the town

and departed, conceiving that there was no more left for them to do; for it was generally [thought], that at the passing that act, with the rest which were ready, the king would prorogue the parliament. Yet the novelty in this act so surprised the lords, that they thought it worthy a very serious deliberation, and used not their customary expedition in the passing it. It happened to be in an ill conjuncture, when the terrible cold weather kept the lord treasurer from going out of his chamber for fear of the gout, of which the chancellor laboured then in that extremity that he was obliged to remain in his bed; and neither of them had received information of this affair. Many of the lords came to them, and advertised them of this new proviso; and some of them went to the king, to let him [know] the prejudice it would bring him, and censured the ill hand that had contrived it.

793 The lord Ashley, who was chancellor of the exchequer, and had been privy in the first cabal in which this reformation was designed, whether because he found himself left out in the most secret part of it, or not enough considered in it, passionately inveighed against it, both publicly and privately, and according to the fertility of his wit and invention, found more objections against it than any body else had done, and the consequences to be more [destructive]; with which he so alarmed the king, that his majesty was contented that the matter should be debated in his presence; and because the chancellor was in his bed, thought his chamber to be the fittest place for the consultation: and the lord [treasurer], though indisposed and apprehensive of the gout, could yet use his feet, and was very willing to attend his majesty there, without the least imagination that he was aimed at in the least.

794 The king appointed the hour for the meeting, where his majesty, with his brother, was present, the chancellor in his bed, the lord treasurer, the lord Ashley, the lord

Arlington, and sir William Coventry; the attorney general and the solicitor were likewise present, to word any alterations which should be fit to be made; and sir George Downing likewise attended, who the king still believed would be able to answer all objections which could be made. The chancellor had never seen the proviso which contained all the novelty, (for all the other parts of the bill were according to the course,) and the treasurer had read it only an hour or two before the meeting: the lord Ashley therefore, who had heard it read in the house of peers, and observed what that house thought of it, opened the whole business with the novelty, and the ill consequence that must inevitably attend it; all which he enforced with great clearness and evidence of reason, and would have enlarged with some sharpness upon the advisers of it.

- 795 But the king himself stopped that by declaring, “that whatsoever had been done in the whole transaction of it had been with his privity and approbation, and the whole blame must be laid to his own [charge], who it seems was like to suffer most by it.” He confessed, “he was so fully convinced in his own understanding, that the method proposed would prove to his infinite advantage and to the benefit of the kingdom, that he had converted many in the house who had disliked it; and that since it came into the house of peers, he had spoken with many of the lords, who seemed most unsatisfied with it: and he was confident he had so well informed many of them, that they had changed their opinion, and would be no more against that proviso. However, he confessed that some remained still obstinate against it, and they had given some reasons which he had not thought of, and which in truth he could not answer: he wished therefore that they would apply themselves to the most weighty objections which were in view, or which might probably result from thence, and think of the best remedies which might be applied by alterations

and amendments in the house of lords, which he doubted not but that the commons would concur in."

796 The first objection was "the novelty, which in cases of that nature was very dangerous, remembering what hath been mentioned before of the beginning of the late rebellion, by putting the money to run in another channel than it had used to do : and that when once such a clause was admitted in one bill, the king would hardly get it left out in others of the same kind hereafter ; and so his majesty should never be master of his own money, nor the ministers of his revenue be able to assign monies to defray any casual expenses, of what nature soever ; but that upon the matter the authority of the treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer must be invested in the tellers of the exchequer, who were subordinate officers, and qualified to do nothing but by the immediate order of those their superior officers. And though there are four tellers in equal authority, yet sir George Downing would in a short time make his office the sole receipt, and the rest neither receive nor pay but by his favour and consent."

797 The king had in his nature so little reverence or esteem for antiquity, and did in truth so much condemn old orders, forms, and institutions, that the objections of novelty rather advanced than obstructed any proposition. He was a great lover of new inventions, and thought [them] the effects of wit and spirit, and fit to control the superstitious observation of the dictates of our ancestors : so that objection made little impression. And for the continuance of the same clause in future bills, he looked for it as necessary, in order to the establishment of his bank, which would abundantly recompense for his loss of power in disposal of his own money. And though it was made appear, by very solid arguments, that the imagination of a bank was a mere chimera in itself, and the erecting it in the exchequer must suppose that

the crown must be always liable to a vast debt upon interest, which would be very ill husbandry; and that there was great hope, that after a happy peace should be concluded, and care should be taken to bring the expenses into a narrower compass, the king might in a short time be out of debt: yet all discourse against a bank was thought to proceed from pure ignorance. And sir George was let loose to instruct them how easy it was to be established, who talked imperiously “of the method by which it came to be settled [in Holland], by the industry of very few persons, when the greatest men despaired of it as impracticable; yet the obstinacy of the other prevailed, and it was now become the strength, wealth, and security of the state: that the same would be brought to pass much more easily here, and would be no sooner done, than England would be the seat of all the trade of Christendom.” And then assuming all he said to be demonstration, he wrapped himself up, according to his custom, in a mist of words that nobody could see light in, but they who by often hearing the same chat thought they understood it.

- 798 The next objection was “against the injustice of this clause, and the ill consequence of that injustice. The necessities of the crown being still pressing, and the fleet every day calling for supply, money had been borrowed from the bankers upon the credit of this bill, as soon as the first vote had passed in the house of commons for so considerable a supply; and the treasurer had made assignments upon several branches of the revenue, which had been preserved and designed for the army and the immediate expenses of the king’s and queen’s household, and the like unavoidable issues, upon presumption that enough would come in from this new act of parliament to be replaced to those purposes, before the time that would require it should come. But by this proviso especial care was taken, that none of the money that should be raised

should be applied to the payment of any debt that was contracted before the royal assent was given to the bill: so that both the money lent by the bankers upon the promise made to them must be unpaid and unsecured, and the money that had been supplied from other assignments must not be applied to the original use; by which the army and household would be unprovided for, the inconvenience whereof had no need of an enlargement.

799 “Besides that the bankers had the king’s word, and the engagement of the ministers of the revenue, that all new bills of supply should still make good what former securities were not sufficient to do; as by this heavy visitation of the plague, the assignments which had been made upon the excise and chimney-money, and by the decay of trade that the war and sickness together had produced, the assignments made upon the customs had brought in so little money, that the debt to the bankers, which but for those obstructions might by this time have been much abated, remained still very little less than it was near a year before. And when it should be known, that this sum of money that was to be raised was exempt from the payment of any of those and the like debts, it would be a great heartbreaking to all those, who had not only lent all their own estates, but the whole estates of many thousands of other men, to the king, and must expect to be called upon by all who have trusted them for their money, which, by this invention, they have no means to pay: and for the future, let the necessities be what they will that the crown may be involved in, there is no hope of borrowing any money, since it is not in the power of the king himself to make any assignment upon this new imposition.”

800 Very much of this had been so absolutely unthought of by the king, that he was very much troubled at it; and he had in his own judgment a just esteem of the bankers, and looked upon any [prejudice] that they should suffer



as hurtful to himself, and a great violation of his honour and justice. But it was plain enough that the principal design of the contrivers was to prejudice the bankers, nor did they care what ruin befell them, and so talked loosely and bitterly “of their cozening the king, and what ill bargains had been made with them;” though it was made manifest, that no private gentleman in England did, upon any real or personal security, borrow money, but considering the brocage he pays, [and] the often renewing his security, it costs him yearly much more than the king paid to the bankers.

801 They slighted what was past as sufficiently provided for; and for the future confidently undertook the king should never more have need of the bankers, “for that this act would be no sooner passed, but, upon the credit of it, money would be poured into the exchequer faster than it could be told.” And when they were told, “that expectation would deceive them, and that great sums would not come in, and small sums would do hurt, because they would but stop up the security from giving satisfaction to others, because whatever was first paid in must be first paid:” all this was answered confidently, “that vast sums were ready, to their knowledge, to be paid in as soon as the bill [should pass];” which fell out as was foretold. For after ten or twenty thousand pounds were delivered in by themselves and their friends to save their credit, there was no more money like to come; and that sum did more harm than good, by interrupting the security.

802 But notwithstanding all their answers, the king remained unsatisfied in many particulars which he had not foreseen, and wished “that the matter had been better consulted;” and confessed “that Downing had not answered many of the objections;” and wished “that alterations might be prepared to be offered in the house of peers as amendments, and transmitted to the commons, without casting

out the proviso ;” the foundation and end of which still pleased him, for those reasons which he would not communicate, and for which only it ought to have been rejected. But as it had been very easy to have had it quite left out, which was the only proper remedy ; so the mending it would leave much argument for debate, and would spend much time. And it was to be apprehended, that there were so many of the best affected members of the house of commons gone out of the town, as having no more to do, that when it should be sent down thither again, it might be longer detained there than would be convenient for the public ; and so the parliament be kept longer from a prorogation than would be grateful to them or agreeable to the king.

803 And therefore, upon the whole matter, his majesty chose that no interruption should be given to it in the house of peers, and only such small amendments, which would be as soon consented to in both houses as read, should be offered, rather than run the hazard of delay : and so accordingly it was passed ; and upon the doing thereof, the parliament was prorogued to April following.

804 In this debate, upon the insolent behaviour of Downing in the defence of that which could not be defended, and it may be out of the extremity of the pain which at that time he endured in his bed, the [chancellor] had given some very sharp reprehensions to Downing, for his presumption in undertaking to set such a design on foot that concerned the whole fabric of the exchequer, (in which he was an inferior officer,) and such a branch of the king’s revenue, without first communicating it to his superior officers, and receiving their advice ; and told him, “ that it was impossible for the king to be well served, whilst fellows of his condition were admitted to speak as much as they had a mind to ; and that in the best times such presumptions had been punished with imprisonment by the lords of the council, without the king’s taking notice

of it :” which, with what sharpness soever uttered, (in which he naturally exceeded in such occasions,) in a case of this nature, in which, with reference to any disrespect towards himself, he was not concerned, he thought did not exceed the privilege and dignity of the place he held ; and for which there were many precedents in the past times.

805 At the present there was no notice taken, nor reply made to what he said. But they who knew themselves equally guilty, and believed they were reflected upon, found quickly opportunity to incense the king, and to persuade him to believe, “that the chancellor’s behaviour was a greater affront to him than to Downing: that a servant should undergo such reproaches in the king’s own presence, for no other reason but having, with all humility, presented an information to his majesty, which was natural for him to understand in the office in which he served him, and afterwards followed and observed the orders and directions which himself had prescribed ; that this must terrify all men from giving the king any light in his affairs, that he may know nothing of his own nearest concerns but what his chief ministers thought fit to impart to him.” All which, and whatsoever else was natural to wit sharpened with malice to suggest upon such an argument, they enforced with warmth, that they desired might be taken for zeal for his [service] and dignity, which was prostituted by those presumptions of the chancellor.

806 And herewith they so inflamed the king, that he was much offended, and expressed to them such a dislike that pleased them well, and gave them opportunity to add more fuel to the fire ; and told them, “that the chancellor should find that he was not pleased ;” as indeed he did, by a greater reservedness in his countenance than his majesty used to carry towards him ; the reason whereof his innocence kept him from comprehending, till in a

short time he vouchsafed plainly to put him in mind of his behaviour at that time, and to express a great resentment of it, and urged all those glosses which had been made to him upon it, and “what interpretation all men must make of such an action, and be terrified by it from offering any thing, of what importance soever to his service, if it would offend his ministers;” and all this in a choler very unnatural to him, which exceedingly troubled the chancellor, and made him more discern, though he had evidence enough of it before, that he stood upon very slippery ground.

807 He told his majesty, “that since he thought his behaviour to be so bad in that particular, for which till then his own conscience or discretion had not reproached him, he must and did believe he had committed a great fault, for which he did humbly ask his pardon; and promised hereafter no more to incur his displeasure for such excesses, which he could never have fallen into at that time and upon that occasion, but upon the presumption, that it had been impossible for his majesty to have made that interpretation of it which it seems he had done, or that any body could have credit enough with him to persuade him to believe, that he desired that his majesty should not have a clear view, and the most discerning insight, into the darkest and most intricate parts of all his affairs, which they knew in their consciences to be most untrue. And he must with great confidence appeal to his majesty, who knew how much he had desired, and taken some pains, that his majesty might never set his hand to any thing, before he fully understood it upon such references and reports, as, according to the nature of the business, [were] to be for his full information.”

808 He besought him to remember, “how often he had told him, that it was most absolutely necessary that he should make himself entirely master of his own business, for that there would be no acquiescence in any judgment

but his own ; and that his majesty knew with what boldness he had often lamented to himself, that he would not take the pains perfectly to understand all his own affairs, which exposed his ministers to the censures of half-witted men, and was the greatest discouragement to all who served him honestly : and he desired his pardon again for saying, that he would hereafter find that they who had advised him in this late transaction, in the handling whereof he had taken the liberty that had offended his majesty, had but a very dim insight into that business which they took upon themselves to direct."

809 But his majesty was not willing to enter again into that discourse, and concluded with forbidding him to believe, " that it was or could be in any men's power to make him suspect his affection or integrity to his service ;" and used many other very gracious expressions to him, nor ever after seemed to remember that action to his prejudice. But within a short time the bishopric of Salisbury becoming void by the never enough lamented death of Dr. Earle, his majesty conferred that bishopric upon Dr. Hyde, the dean of Winchester, upon the chancellor's recommendation, whose near kinsman he was. Nor was his credit with the king thought to be lessened by any body but himself, who knew more to that purpose than other people could do : yet he judged more from the credit that he found his enemies got every day, than from the king's withdrawing his trust and kindness from him ; nor did the king believe that they had then that design against him which shortly after they did not dissemble.

810 The purpose of making the alteration in the government of the treasury was pursued very industriously. And since that proviso, with all the circumstances thereof, had not produced the effect they proposed, for they had believed that the indignity of the affront would have wrought so far upon the great heart of the treasurer, that he would thereupon have given up his staff ; which he was too much

inclined to have done, if he had not been prevailed with by those who he knew were his friends, not to gratify those who desired him out of their way, in doing that which they of all things wished: therefore, that plot not succeeding, they persuaded the king to try another expedient. For they all knew, that it was too envious a thing for his majesty himself to remove him from his office by any act of his, and that it would be loudly imputed to them. But if he could be himself persuaded to quit that which every body knew he was weary of, it would prevent all inconveniences: and they had been told that the chancellor only had dissuaded him from doing it, which he would not presume to do, if he were clearly told that the king desired that he should give it up.

811 Hereupon the king one day called the chancellor to him, and told him, "that he must speak with him in a business of great confidence, and which required great secrecy;" and then enlarged in a great commendation of the treasurer, (whom in truth he did very much esteem,) "of his great parts of judgment, of his unquestionable integrity, and of his general interest and reputation throughout the kingdom. But with all this," he said, "he was not fit for the office he held: that he did not understand the mystery of that place, nor could in his nature [go through] with the necessary obligations of it. That his bodily infirmities were such, that many times he could not be spoken with for two or three days, so that there could be no despatch; of which every body complained, and by which his business suffered very much. That all men knew that all the business was done by sir Philip Warwick, whom, though he was a very honest man, he did not think fit to be treasurer; which he was to all effects, the treasurer himself doing nothing but signing the papers which the other prepared for him, which was neither for the king's honour nor his." The truth was, that his understanding was too fine for

such gross matters as that office must be conversant about, and that if his want of health did not hinder him, his genius did not carry him that way; nor would the laziness of his nature permit him to take that pains that was absolutely necessary for the well discharging that great office.

812 His majesty concluded, “that he loved him too well to disoblige him, and would never do any thing that would not be grateful to him: but he had some reason, even from what he had sometimes said to him, to think that he was weary of it, and might be easily persuaded to deliver up his staff, which his majesty would be very glad of; and therefore he wished that he, the chancellor, who was known to have most interest in him, would persuade him to it, in which he would do his majesty a singular service.”

813 The chancellor presently asked him, “if he were so unfit, whom he would make treasurer in his room.” The king as presently answered, “that he would never make another treasurer, which was an office of great charge, and would be much more effectually executed by commissioners; which had been done in Cromwell’s time, as many offices had been: and that his majesty found by experience, that in offices of that kind commissioners were better than single officers; for though sir William Compton was a very extraordinary man, of great industry and fidelity, yet that the office of the ordnance was neither in so good order nor so thriftily managed whilst he was master of it, as it hath been since his death, since when it hath been governed by commissioners; and so he was well assured his treasury would be.”

814 The chancellor replied, “that he was very sorry to find his majesty so much inclined to commissioners, who were indeed fittest to execute all offices according to the model of a commonwealth, but not at all agreeable to monarchy:

that if he thought the precedent of Cromwell's time fit to be followed, he should be in the posture that Cromwell was, with an army of one hundred thousand men, which made him have no need of the authority and reputation of a treasurer, either to settle his revenue or to direct the levying it; he could do both best himself." But he very passionately besought his majesty to believe, "that they who advised him to this method of government, though they might have good affection to his person and his service, were very unskilful in the constitution of this kingdom and in the nature of the people. That the office of treasurer had sometimes, upon the death of a present officer, been executed by commissioners, but very seldom for any time, or longer than whilst the king could deliberately make choice of a fit minister. That himself had been twice a commissioner for the treasury, once in the time of his father, and again upon his majesty's return: and therefore that he could upon experience assure him, that commissioners, in so active a time as this, could never discharge the duty of that office; and that the dignity of the person of the treasurer was most necessary for his service, both towards the procuring the raising of money in parliament, and the improving his revenue by the grant of additions there, as likewise for the collecting and conducting it afterwards. For the present treasurer," he said, "there was no question, but if he knew that his majesty was weary of his service, and wished to have the staff out of his hand, he would most readily deliver it: but that they who gave the counsel, and thought it fit for his majesty's service, were much fitter to give him that advertisement, than he who in his conscience did believe, that the following it would be of the most pernicious consequence to his service of any thing that could be done."

815 He most humbly and with much earnestness besought his majesty "seriously to reflect, what an ill savour it would



have over the whole kingdom, at this time of a war with at least two powerful enemies abroad together, of so great discontent and jealousy at home, and when the court was in no great reputation with the people, to remove a person the most loved and revered by the people for his most exemplar fidelity and wisdom, who had deserved as much from his blessed father and himself as a subject can do [from] his prince, a nobleman of the best quality, the best allied and the best beloved; to remove at such a time such a person, and with such circumstances, from his councils and his trust: for nobody could imagine, that, after such a manifestation of his majesty's displeasure, he would be again conversant in the court or in the council, both which would be much less esteemed upon such an action. That many with the same diseases and infirmities had long executed that office, which required more the strength of the mind than of the body: all were obliged to attend him, and he only to wait upon his majesty.

816 “That it was impossible for any man to discharge that office without a secretary; and if the whole kingdom had been to have preferred a secretary to him, they would have commended this gentleman to him whom he trusted, who had for many years served a former treasurer in the same trust, in the most malignant, captious, and calumniating time that hath been known, and yet without the least blemish or imputation; and who, ever since that time, had served his father in and to the end of the war, and himself since in the most secret and dangerous affairs,” (for he had been trusted by the persons of the greatest quality to hold intelligence with his majesty to the time of his return;) so that all men [rather] expected to have found him preferred to some good place, than in the same post he had been in twenty years before; which he would never have undertaken under any other officer than one with whom he had much confidence, and who he knew would serve his majesty so well. Yet,” he said, “that

whoever knew them could [never] believe that sir Philip Warwick could govern the lord treasurer."

817 The king said, "he had a very good opinion of sir Philip Warwick, and had never heard any thing to his prejudice." But upon the main point of the debate he seemed rather moved and troubled than convinced, when by good fortune the duke of York came into the room, who had been well prepared to like the king's purpose, and to believe it necessary; and therefore his majesty was glad of his presence, and called him to him, and told him what he had been speaking of; and the chancellor informed him of all that had passed between the king and him, and told him, "that he could never do a better service to the king his brother, than by using his credit with him to restrain him from prosecuting a purpose that would prove so mischievous to him." And so the discourse was renewed: and in the end the duke was so entirely converted, that he prevailed with his majesty to lay aside the thought of it; which so broke all the measures the other contrivers had formed their counsels by, that they were much out of countenance. But finding that they could not work upon the duke to change his mind, and to return to the former resolution, they thought not fit to press the king further for the present; and only made so much use of their want of success, by presenting to his majesty his irresoluteness, which made the chancellor still impose upon him, that the king did not think the better of the chancellor or the treasurer, for his receding at that time from prosecuting what he had so positively resolved to have done, and promised them "to be firmer to his next determination."

818 After Christmas the rage and fury of the pestilence began in some degree to be mitigated, but so little, that nobody who had left the town had yet the courage to return thither: nor had they reason; for though it was a considerable abatement from the height it had been at

yet there died still between three and four thousand in the week, and of those, some men of better condition than had fallen before. The general writ from thence, “that there still arose new difficulties in providing for the setting out the fleet, and some of such a nature, that he could not easily remove them without communication with his majesty, and receiving his more positive directions; and how to bring that to pass he knew not, for as he could by no means advise his majesty to leave Oxford, so he found many objections against his own being absent from London.” Windsor was thought upon as a place where the king might safely reside, there being then no infection there: but the king had adjourned the term thither, which had possessed the whole town; and he was not without some apprehension that the plague had got into one house.

819 In the end, towards the end of February, the king resolved that the queen and duchess and all their families should remain in Oxford; and that his majesty and his brother, with prince Rupert, and such of his council and other servants as were thought necessary or fit, would make a quick journey to Hampton-Court, where the general might be every day, and return again to London at night, and his majesty give such orders as were requisite for the carrying on his service, and so after two or three days’ stay there return again to Oxford; for no man did believe it counsellable, that his majesty should reside longer there, than the despatch of the most important business required: and with this resolution his majesty made his journey to Hampton-Court.

820 It pleased God, that the next week after his majesty came thither, the number of those who died of the plague in the city decreased one thousand; and there was a strange universal joy there for the king’s being so near. The weather was as it could be wished, deep snow and terrible frost, which very probably stopped the spreading

of the infection, though it might put an end to those who were already infected, as it did, for in a week or two the number of the dead was very little diminished. The general came and went as was intended : but the business every day increased ; and his majesty's remove to a further distance was thought inconvenient, since there appeared no danger in remaining where he was.

821 And after a fortnight's or three weeks' stay, he resolved, for the quicker despatch of all that was to be done, to go to Whitehall, when there died above fifteen hundred in the week, and when there was not in a day seen a coach in the streets, but those which came in his majesty's train ; so much all men were terrified from returning to a place of so much mortality. Yet it can hardly be imagined what numbers flocked thither from all parts upon the fame of the king's being at Whitehall, all men being ashamed of their fears for their own safety, when the king ventured his person. The judges at Windsor adjourned the last return of the term to Westminster-hall, and the town every day filled marvellously, and, which was more wonderful, the plague every day decreased. Upon which the king changed his purpose, and, instead of returning to Oxford, sent for the queen and all the family to come to Whitehall : so that before the end of March the streets were as full, the exchange as much crowded, and the people in all places as numerous, as they had ever been seen, few persons missing any of their acquaintance, though by the weekly bills there appeared to have died above one hundred and threescore thousand persons ; and many, who could compute very well, concluded that there were in truth double that number who died ; and that in one week, when the bill mentioned only six thousand, there had in truth fourteen thousand died. The frequent deaths of the clerks and sextons of parishes hindered the exact account of every week ; but that which left it without any certainty was the vast

number that was buried in the fields, of which no account was kept. Then of the anabaptists and other sectaries, who abounded in the city, very few left their habitations; and multitudes of them died, whereof no churchwarden or other officer had notice; but they found burials, according to their own fancies, in small gardens or the next fields. The greatest number of those who died consisted of women and children, and the lowest and poorest sort of the people: so that, as I said before, few men missed any of their acquaintance when they returned, not many of wealth or quality or of much conversation being dead; yet some of either sort there were.

822 The business of the king and of all about him was, that the fleet might be ready and at sea with all the possible expedition: and in or towards this there was less disturbance and interruption than could reasonably have been expected, an universal cheerfulness appearing in all who could obstruct or contribute towards it, the people generally being abundantly satisfied in the king's choice of the commanders. Prince Rupert was very much beloved, for his confessed courage, by the seamen; and the people believed that they could not but have the victory where the general commanded, who only underwent unquietness and vexation from the tempestuous humour of his wife. She, from his return from Oxford, and from the time that she had the first intimation that the king had designed her husband for the command of the fleet, was all storm and fury; and, according to the wisdom and modesty of her nature, poured out a thousand full-mouthed curses against all those who had contributed to that counsel: but the malice of all that tempest fell upon the chancellor. She declared, "that this was a plot of his to remove her husband from the king, that he might do what he had a mind to;" and threw all the ill words at him which she had been accustomed to hear, accompanied with her good wishes of what she would have befall him.

But the company she kept, and the conversation she was accustomed to, could not propagate the reproaches far ; and the poor general himself felt them most, who knew the chancellor to be his very fast and faithful friend, and that he would not be less so because his wife was no wiser than she was born to be. He was indefatigable in taking pains night and day that the fleet might be at sea.

823 The duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, was already gone to Brest, and had taken leave of the king at Paris, whither he was not to return till after the summer's service at sea, and had appointed a rendezvous of all the ships to be at Brest by the middle of March, which they reported should consist of fifty ships of war.

824 The rupture was declared on both sides with Denmark. That king had appeared much troubled at the ill accident at Bergen, which had fallen out merely by the accidents of weather, which had hindered the positive orders from arriving in the precise time : and he seemed still resolved to detain the Dutch ships there, and only to fear the conjunction of the Swede with the Hollander, which the king's agent, sir Gilbert Talbot, assured him he need not to fear. Which the better to confirm, Mr. Clifford, who had been present at Bergen, and is before mentioned to be sent after that by the king to Denmark, went from thence into Sweden (where Mr. Coventry yet remained) with a project of such a treaty as would have been with little alterations consented to in Sweden, who had good inclinations to the king, and resolved to join with the bishop of Munster, when he should advance, according to his engagement. But the Danish resident in Sweden delayed to conclude, and pretended to have received less positive orders than the nature of the affair required, and that he expected fuller : and so all matters were deferred, till ambassadors came from Holland with no expostulations, and a desire to renew their alliance, and release

some engagements they had upon the Sound, which had been very grievous to the Dane ; and many other conditions were granted which were very convenient to them. An ambassador likewise arrived in the nick of time from France, to dispose them to a conjunction with Holland, and to warrant the performance of whatsoever the Hollander should promise, and likewise to undertake that France would protect them against England, and therefore that they should not apprehend any danger from a war from thence ; and De Ruyter was now gone with the fleet for Bergen.

825 Upon all these motives concurring in the same conjuncture, the poor king embraced that party ; and then declared and complained, “ that the English had broken the law of nations in violating the peace of his ports, and endeavouring to fire his town, when they were hospitably received and treated there under the protection of his castle.” He denied that he had ever made such an offer or promise as sir Gilbert Talbot still charged him with, and which he had not denied to Mr. Clifford when he came first thither. But now he reproached sir Gilbert Talbot “ for falsifying his words, at least for mistaking them, and sending that to the king his master which he gave him no liberty to do.” And now sir Gilbert found his error in not having drawn from him or his servant Gabell, in writing, some evidence of the engagement : but after many indignities he left the court and returned to England. All English ships in Denmark or Norway were seized upon ; and the persons of all merchants and others who were his majesty’s subjects, and to some of whom the king of Denmark owed great sums of money, which they had lent to him, were imprisoned, and their goods seized and confiscated.

826 All which proceedings provoked the king to give the like orders, and to look upon them as enemies, and to emit a declaration of the motive he had to send his fleet

to Bergen, "which he could never have done but upon the invitation and promise of that king; which was evident enough by the reception his ships had there, and expectation the governor had of their arrival, and his allegation, that he expected that very night fuller orders than he had yet received; and lastly, his suffering them to depart securely, after all the acts of hostility had passed in the port." Much of this was denied with many indecent expressions, and such evasions as made all that was said believed by equal considerers: and so the war was declared.

827 And then in the beginning of the year 1666, a year long destined by all astrologers for the production of dismal changes and alterations throughout the world, and by some for the end of it, the king found his condition so much worse than it had been the last year, as the addition of France and Denmark could make it; against all which, and the prodigies which the year was to produce, (and it did truly produce many,) the king prepared with his accustomed vigour and resolution, though the predictions had a strange operation upon vulgar minds.

828 The proclamation of the war in France, and the seizure upon the estates of the English, with some circumstances in the point of time, and other actions very unjust and unusual, the great maritime preparations there, and the visible assistance of force that was sent thence to the Dutch, did not trouble nor hurt the king so much as the secret and invisible negotiations of that crown. From the first declaration of the bishop of Munster of his resolution to make a war upon Holland, (with which he acquainted the king of France before he [declared] it, and received such an answer that made him very confident (as hath been remembered before upon his first address to the king of Great Britain) that he should meet with no obstruction from thence; and upon that confidence the treaty was concluded with the king, and great sums of



money paid to the bishop upon his promise and engagement, “that he would fix himself with his army within the territories of the States General before the winter was ended; [and] that against the spring, when the king’s fleet should be ready for the sea, he would at the same time march with an army of twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse into the heart of their country;” and what the effect of that would have been in that conjuncture may be in some degree guessed at by what hath since fallen out :) [I say], France, from the first knowledge they had of his purpose, and before they declared on the behalf of the Dutch, secretly sent to the neighbour princes “not to join with the bishop, and to do all that was in their power to hinder his levies;” and prevailed with the elector of Brandenburg, who had given hopes to the bishop of a powerful assistance upon the expectation of the restoration of Wesel, and other towns then possessed by Holland, totally to decline any conjunction with him, upon promise “that he should find his own account better from the friendship of France.” The dukes of Lunenburg, who had made the bishop believe that they would join with him, and had made levies of soldiers to that purpose, having abundant argument of quarrel with Holland, were now persuaded by the same way not only to desist from helping, but to declare themselves enemies to the bishop, if he would not desist, and “that they would serve the Dutch with their forces.”

829 When all this could not discourage the bishop from prosecuting his intention, but that he still gathered troops, and gave new commissions to officers who had prepared for their levies further in Germany; the king of France sent an envoy expressly to the bishop himself, and offered his mediation and interposition with the Dutch, “that they should do him all the right that in justice he could demand from [them], and if [this] were not accepted by him, that he [must] expect what prejudice the arms of

France could bring upon him ;” and then sent to all those princes who had permitted levies to be made in their countries, “that they should not suffer those troops to march out of their country,” but offered “to receive and entertain them in his own army.” With this he sent to the other princes of Germany and to the emperor himself, “that if they did not prevent this incursion of the bishop of Munster,” (to which they all wished well,) “they would involve the empire in a war.”

830 When all this could not terrify the bishop, who defended himself by his engagement to the king of Great Britain, “that he could not enter into treaty nor give over his enterprise without his consent,” and drew his forces together to a rendezvous, and had got permission from the marquis of Castelle Roderigo, then governor of Flanders, to make levies in those provinces without noise or avowing it, and marched with his army into the States’ dominions, and took a place or two even in the sight of prince Maurice, (who drew as many of the States’ troops together as could be spared out of their garrisons, but thought not fit to engage with them, after he had found in some light skirmishes that they were not firm ;) so that the bishop, by the advantage of the situation of which he was possessed, began to fasten himself in full assurance of increasing his army, in spite of all discouragements, before the spring, (and he had already received some troops out of Flanders, and advertisement from other of his officers, that they were well advanced in their levies :) the king of France in this conjuncture, in the imperious style he customarily used in those cases, sent to the governor of Flanders for a license for such troops, as he had occasion to send into Germany, to pass through such a part of his government ; which as he had no mind to grant, so he durst not deny, having orders from Spain to be very careful, that no disgusts might be given to France which might give any occasion, or pretence, or

opportunity for a breach, which they well knew was desired and longed for.

831 Upon this permission the French troops marched into Flanders: and in the first place, whether in their way or out of their way, they fell upon the levies which were made for the bishop, and routed and dispersed them, or took them prisoners. In one place, by the strength of their quarter and a neighbour church, they defended themselves, imagining the country would relieve them, without suspecting that they had license and permission to march through: but they were so much inferior in number or strength, that after some of them were killed, the rest were glad to throw down their arms and become prisoners at mercy, the officers not comprehending what declared enemy could fall upon them in those quarters. With this triumph they marched, and joined with prince Maurice by the time the bishop had notice of the disaster, and speedily advanced upon his quarters, and beat some of his troops.

832 Upon which the poor bishop (who, instead of the supplies and commissions and other countenance that he had reason to expect from those princes, who had been privy and with great promises encouraged his enterprise, received every day arguments from them against his proceeding further, with many conjurations, that he would entirely submit to the king of France's determination) found himself necessitated to comply, and even heart-broken signed a treaty with the French, who then were careful enough both of his honour and interest in the conditions with the Dutch, as for an ally of whom they meant to make more use in another conjuncture. Upon all which the bishop had been much more excusable, if he had not received some of the king's money, even after he saw that he should be obliged to sign the treaty; which he ought not to have done, though it had been due, and it may be expended, before he had any such

intention, and to which, it cannot be denied, he had most forcible compulsions.

833 This was the most sensible blow, but the plague, that the king had felt from the beginning of the war, and was instance enough how terrible the king of France was to all the neighbour kings and princes, who had so suddenly departed from their own inclinations and resolutions, and from their own interest, only upon his insinuations, which became orders to them. And Spain, if they knew that which all the world besides discerned, could not but believe that France would break all treaties as soon as the other king should die, the news of which was expected and provided for every week. But the drowsy temper of that monarch, who had been so much disquieted throughout his whole reign, extended so far only as to prepare a stock of peace that would last during his own time, that he saw would be very short, and to leave his dominions and his infant son to shift for themselves when he was dead : and it was an unhappy maxim of that state, that it was the best husbandry to purchase present peace and present money at how dear interest soever for the future, which would be assisted with some new expedients, as Spain had always been.

834 All these disadvantages made the king the more solicitous to have but one enemy to struggle with, though it were France : and therefore he was very solicitous, by all ways he could devise, to make a peace with Holland, and to leave Denmark to their own inventions ; and he had some encouragement to believe, that it was not impossible to separate Holland from France. They were sensible enough, that they had been upon the matter betrayed into the war, by the positive promise of assistance, and a firm conjunction from France in the instant that the war should be entered upon, without any mention of mediation or interposition for peace, which was against their desire ; and that they had looked on very unconcernedly, or rather

well pleased to see them beaten, and their own people ready to rise against the government. Then they knew that France did already provide for an expedition against Flanders, which could not long defend itself with its own forces; and that they depended upon this war between England and the Dutch, as what must hinder both those nations from giving it assistance: and they as well knew what their own portion must be, when that screen was removed, that was their best security against so mighty a neighbour. And this De Wit himself, who was the chief supporter of the war, frequently observed and confessed to those with whom he had most conversation, and in whom he was believed to have most trust: and all those advertisements were transmitted to the king by those whose integrity could not be suspected, and who did not dissemble, being of the States themselves, to be very desirous of peace and very jealous of France.

835 There was a gentleman, one monsieur Bewett, of a good family in France and born there, but long bred in Holland whilst the wars were there, and who had been captain in the last prince of Orange's horse-guards, and in very particular favour with him, by which he was married to a woman of Holland very rich, and very nearly allied to many of those who had the greatest influence upon the government; and [who] was now looked upon rather as a Dutchman than a Frenchman, and conversed most familiarly amongst the burgomasters, and other principal persons of the States. And by this interest, after the death of the prince of Orange, that troop was still preserved for a guard to the States, and was the only horse-troop that remained constantly in the Hague. And for the better pleasing the people, it was still called the Prince of Orange's Guard, and continued to wear the same livery it had always done: and the young prince took much delight to see them, and to hear himself called by them their captain; and the commander thereof,

Bewett, professed and paid the same devotion to him that he had done to his father.

836 This gentleman was generally beloved, and held a man of great sincerity, brave in point of courage, and of good parts of wit and judgment, save that he was immoderately given to wine and to the excess of it, which, being the disease or rather the health of the country, made him not the worse thought of or less fit for business. He was well known to the king, and well thought of by him, and had great familiarity with some of the bedchamber, and others near the king and trusted by him. He had made a journey once, since the king's return into England, only to kiss his hand, and profess the same affection and duty he had often done when his majesty was abroad, which had always made him acceptable to him.

837 He was a bold speaker, and from the time that the war was begun against England much inveighed against the counsel that persuaded it, as very pernicious to the affairs of that country; and in this argument used not more freedom with any than with De Wit himself, who loved his person and his spirit, and conversed very freely with him, though he knew his friendships were chiefly with the dependents upon the house of Orange, and with others of the States who were of his own opinion with reference to the war: and the publishing his opinion drew many of the greatest interest amongst the burgomasters to delight in his conversation and to trust him much. With those he consulted freely what means should be used to procure a peace, and [prevent] the mischief that must attend the continuance [of the war,] with good sense and judgment: but those consultations were always in the exercise of drinking, which never ended without the utmost excess, though without noise or disquiet or unkindness, which are never the effects of those excesses amongst that people.

838 After the first battle, when the Dutch were so much

beaten, and the people in that consternation that they called aloud for peace, and reviled all those who were thought to be against it, and amongst those De Wit principally, who had the more enemies, and peace the more friends, for the differences which had arisen amongst the officers of the fleet upon the death of Opdam, and upon the disgrace which Trump had undergone by the power and injustice, as they said, of De Wit upon personal dislikes, and because he was known to have great affection for the prince of Orange, (and Van Trump himself, as hath been said, was not only of much interest amongst the seamen, but very popular in the government, and had his sisters married to burgomasters in some of the greatest towns; so that the disgrace of him increased the number of De Wit's enemies :) in this conjuncture Bewett cultivated the best he could all those ill humours, how mutinous soever, which grew most importunate for peace; yet without any reflection upon the person of De Wit, with whom he was known by the company he most kept to have much familiarity, and whom he did at that time really believe to be inclined to peace, and declared he did think so to those who knew the contrary, yet did not think the worse of him for being deceived, being assured he would never deceive them for want of integrity.

839 But he took advantage of this general distemper and of the prejudice the people had against him, to talk very frankly to De Wit of both; and admired, "since he did, as he professed, desire peace, that he would not find some way to undeceive the people, which was necessary for his own security; and it might easily be effected, by giving a beginning to such a consultation as might look towards an accommodation." De Wit had his spies in all places, and knew well what company Bewett most delighted in, though his acquaintance was universal and agreeable to all men: and he was informed too of his particular behaviour with reference to him, and that he did constantly

and confidently vindicate him from many imputations, in the presence of those who were not pleased with his contradictions; so that he looked upon him as his friend, and one that might by his interest and credit divert some of that popular envy and malice, of which he had no contempt, but much apprehension.

840 He renewed his former professions of his desire of peace, and gave so good reasons for it as might naturally gain belief: amongst which one was always a vehement jealousy of France, “which,” he said, “though it had at last declared war against England, which they ought to have done so long before, [had done it] only to draw England into some conditions which might facilitate their own enterprise upon Flanders, which it concerned them to prevent by all the ways possible; of which none would be so probable as a peace between England and them, which would immediately make each solicitous for their own interest. But how to set any thing on foot that might contribute to this he knew not; and the doing that which the other had proposed, by declaring himself, was the way only to slacken all the provisions for war, the expediting of which would most advance a peace.”

841 Bewett replied, “that he knew he had many friends in the English court, whereof some were of near trust about his majesty, for whose secrecy he would be accountable;” and named the lord Arlington, who had lately married a lady of the Hague, the daughter of monsieur Beverwaert, a person in his quality and fortune in the first rank. He offered to him, “that he would himself write such a letter to the lord Arlington in his own name, which he should first see and approve, without which he would not send it, as should only testify his own good wishes for a peace between the two nations, which were not unknown to the king himself; and would make no other mention of him, than that he had reason to believe, that monsieur De Wit (in whose good opinion he



had the honour to be known to have some place) would not be unwilling to promote any good overture that should be made." After some debate he was content that he should write, provided that he would promise to write nothing but what he should first see, and would still bring the answers to him which he should receive; to which the other consented.

842 Upon this encouragement he began his correspondence with the lord Arlington, and acquainted his bosom-friends with it, to dispose them the more to hope for peace, and to look upon De Wit as not averse to it. But what he writ was with so much wariness, being dictated upon the matter by the pensioner, that it could draw no other answers from the secretary but of the same style, with expressions of his majesty's desire of peace and esteem of De Wit, and as if he expected some overtures to arise from thence. This intelligence had not been long on foot, but he begun to suspect the sincerity of De Wit, and that indeed he was not so well inclined to peace as he had pretended to be: his countenance was not so open, nor he so vacant when he came, as he used to be; he grew less jealous of the French, and more composed himself, and less apprehensive of the people, as he found them more composed, and a greater concurrence in the making all things ready for the fleet. All which observations he likewise imparted to his companions, who were glad to find him begin to be undeceived; and from that time he was apter to concur with them in the fiercer counsels, how to compass a peace in spite of him by a majority of votes in the States, with the help of the people, for any accidental suppression whereof, there were no other forces in view than those horse-guards that were commanded by him.

843 Hereupon he took a new resolution, but would not lose the advantage he had by the knowledge De Wit had of his correspondence, and therefore shewed him a

letter that he had received from the lord Arlington, in which he pressed him "to inform him, what particulars would dispose the States to peace, and to separate from the French," and had sent him a cipher for the more free and safe communication; which cipher he deposited in the hands of De Wit, having received his directions and observed them by using the same cipher, which the other examined and kept, and hoped by the answer to put an end to that correspondence, of which he grew weary, and less confident of the person, because he heard that he was grown less zealous in his defence than he had been.

844 Bewett upon this grew more resolute one way and less apprehensive the other way, and sent a person with whom he had great friendship, and who was well known to the king and most about him, monsieur Silvius, a servant to the late princess royal, and a native of Orange, with a full account "of the state of the counsels at the Hague, and his discovery that De Wit did not in truth desire a peace, nor would consent to it, but upon very unreasonable terms," whereof some were mentioned in his letter in cipher which he had dictated; "but that he was most assured, that he should be compelled at the next assembly of the States to submit to more reasonable conditions." He gave the king an account of the ground of his confidence, and an information of the persons who were combined together to press it in the States, amongst which there were some of the greatest power: and by their advice he offered the substance of a message they wished the king should send to the States General at the time of their convening, in which there was nothing contained against which any thing could be objected on his majesty's behalf; and "upon the delivery thereof there would so few adhere to De Wit, that he should not be able to prevent a treaty, though France should protest against it." He sent likewise at the same time, and by the same person, another cipher to the lord Arlington,

with direction “that in such letters as were intended for the view of the pensioner the former cipher should be used, and in the other letters, which were to be concealed from him, and which were for the most part to contain intelligence and advice against him, the latter cipher was only to be made use of.”

845 Those informations by Silvius, who was a man of parts, and had dependance upon the duke of York, and meant not to return into Holland except upon a pressing occasion, when he durst adventure to go, being looked upon as an inhabitant of the Hague, having been always bred there, and his relation to the duke scarce yet taken notice of; I say, those informations the king thought to be worthy to be well considered, and conferred with the chancellor upon the whole, and appointed the lord Arlington to inform him of all that had passed from the beginning; and that Silvius, who was concealed, that they might have no advertisement in Holland of his having been in England, should likewise attend him in some evening; which he shortly after did, and made him an ample and clear relation of the state of the counsels at the Hague, and the several factions amongst them, and the distemper of the people. He had himself spoken with many of the burgo-masters and others in authority, who were privy to his coming, and communicated the method they meant to proceed in towards the depressing De Wit, by mingling the proposition for peace with the interest of the prince of Orange, which the people thought to be inseparable.

846 In fine, he gave a perfect good account of all to which he was instructed, with great modesty: and when the chancellor, to whom Bewett and he were both well known, would have induced him to deliver somewhat of his own judgment, whether he thought that combination to be strong enough to overrule De Wit; he could draw no other answer from him than the magnifying the credit and interest of Bewett, which he seemed principally

to rely upon, and the impossibility that he should fail in point of integrity or courage.

847 Silvius had settled a sure way of correspondence, and by every post received fresh intelligence of the preparations and progress Bewett and his friends made in their designs, of the success whereof they were every day more confident, and thought their party so much to increase, that as they did not apprehend any discovery like to be made by treachery, so they did not seem to fear it, if De Wit himself should know all that they intended: and they pressed very earnestly, “that the king’s letter, in the manner they had proposed, might be at the Hague when the General States were to meet,” the time whereof approached.

848 The king called those to him to whom the whole negotiation had been imparted, to advise what was to be done. On the king’s part nothing was considerable, but whether he should write to the States at all, and what he should write: and against writing there seemed to be no objection, and as little against writing what they advised, which was no more than he had formerly writ, and always said to their ambassador. And that this might be a more favourable conjuncture for the good reception of it, and hearkening to it, his majesty was reasonably to believe those who meant to second and promote it with their own reasons: and therefore the time and the manner of the delivery of it was left to be resolved amongst themselves, the king having no minister there to present it.

849 The way that they had thought of was, that Bewett should at the proper time deliver it to De Wit, who durst not conceal it, and if he should, there would be ways enough to publish it to his reproach; nor could he take any advantage of Bewett for his correspondence with their enemies, because it had been entered into with his approbation. But for the better security in the sending it, and the better information of the persons engaged, of

all the reflections which had been made by the king, and those with whom he had conferred by his majesty's order, it was thought best that Silvius should return; and if Bewett thought fit to decline the delivery of the king's letter, and no better way could be found for the delivery of it, he might present it in the manner his friends there should direct, and avow his having been at London to solicit his own pretences since the death of the princess royal his mistress, and that he had received the letter from the king's own hand. This being the concurrent opinion of all, and the gentleman himself willing to undertake it, Silvius was despatched.

850 In the debate of the matter, the king asked the chancellor "what he thought of the design, and whether he thought it would succeed;" who said, "he doubted it much, and that it would conclude in the loss of poor Bewett's head, who had not a talent for the managery of an affair of that weight, which would require great secrecy and great sobriety, and the consideration of more particulars at once than his comprehension could contain together." Then he did not like the method they proposed, of joining the demand of peace with the interest of the prince of Orange, which, though it might probably follow the peace and be an effect of it, would not be seasonable to be joined with it in regard of his infancy; and that many did heartily desire the peace, who had no mind that the prince should be restored to the offices of his father and family, or that there should be any debate of it, till the prince came to the age that was provided by the solemn act and declaration of the States: which had been the reason that his majesty (who had all the tenderness for his nephew that a parent could have) would never be persuaded to mention him (though it had been proposed by many, and even by the elector of Brandenburg and the princess dowager) in the conditions of the peace; the king foreseeing that De Wit would have been glad to have that advantage, as

to observe to the people, that the king would prescribe to them what officers they should choose and admit into their government, and that they must have no peace, except they would take a general and a stadtholder and an admiral of his nomination, which was to make them subject to himself.

851 And this was the reason, that in all conferences with the French ambassadors, who sometimes would mention the prince of Orange with compassion for the ingratitude of the States towards him, and add, "that they doubted not their master would be ready to join with his majesty in doing him all offices;" and sometimes when the Dutch ambassador (who was of that party that did really wish the restoration of the prince) in conference would seem to wish and to believe, that the restoring the prince of Orange would be the consequence of the peace: the king never gave other answer, than "that he should be very glad that the States would gratify his nephew; but that it was a matter he had nothing to do to interpose in, it depending wholly upon their own good-will and pleasure."

852 The rest who were present had much more esteem of Bewett than the chancellor had, (who thought as well of his courage and integrity as they did,) and believed he would have success in what he designed, his interest in the right of his wife being confessedly very great amongst the States, and his jolly course of living having rendered him very acceptable and grateful to men of the most different affections; and then of all the officers of the militia he was most esteemed, which was like to be of moment, if the dispute brought the matter to a struggle: but the event shewed the contrary.

853 After Silvius's departure, letters passed between them, as they had used to do, for two or three posts. And Bewett one day meeting De Wit when he came from his good fellows, and they walking a turn together in com-

mon discourse, De Wit asked him, “when he had any letter from England, and how affairs went there:” to which he suddenly answered, “that he came just then from receiving one, which he had not yet deciphered,” and put his hand into his pocket, and took thence a letter; and casting his eyes (which were never good, and now worse by the company he had left) upon the superscription, he gave it to him, and said, “he would go with him that they might decipher it together according to custom.”

854 De Wit presently found that it was not the accustomed cipher, (for he had delivered the wrong letter, that which he ought not to see,) and desired him “that he would walk before, and he would presently overtake him, after he had spoken a few words at a house in his way.” And so leaving him, he took present order for the apprehending him and searching his pockets; and at the same time sent to his house, and caused his cabinet, where all his papers were, to be examined and sealed up. And so poor Bewett, whilst he stayed at the other’s house that they might decipher the letter, was apprehended, and all his papers taken out of his pockets, and he sent to prison. The other cipher was quickly found, and many letters and other papers, which discovered many secrets. Whereupon a court of justice was speedily erected: and within three days, according to the expedition used there in such cases, a scaffold was erected, and the poor gentleman brought thither in the sight of all his friends; and there, with his known courage, and in few words declaring “that he had honest purposes to the country,” lost his head.

855 Silvius quickly heard of his imprisonment, and as soon thought it necessary to make his own escape, and arrived in England before he heard of his last misfortune, which he did not suspect, nor knew how the discovery had been made. The knot, thus broken, dispersed themselves:

most of them got into Flanders; the burgomaster of Rotterdam, and two or three others of note, made all the haste they could into England; some thought themselves secure in Antwerp and other parts of Flanders; and some were seized upon in several places of the States' dominions, and imprisoned with all the circumstances of severity, though upon the want of clear proofs few of them were put to death. The troop of guards was reformed, or rather transformed, under new officers, and assigned for a constant guard to the States, without the least formal relation to the prince of Orange, or using his name or livery, or permission to pay any reverence to him. And so the prince was much lower than before, and all hopes of reviving almost extinguished or expired; De Wit stood firmer upon his own feet than ever, and directed all preparations for the war without control; and all the present expectation in England vanished: whilst the pensionary informed France of the dangers he had escaped for them, and what great matters had been offered to him if he would have departed from their interest; and made the plot to contain all that he fancied it might have done.

856 When the parliament at Oxford was prorogued, it was to a day in April: but the king had reason to believe that they would not so soon be in good humour enough to give more money, which was the principal end of calling them together. And the dregs of the plague still remaining, and venting its malignity in many burials every week, his majesty thought fit to dispense with their attendance at that time by a proclamation: and he caused it at the day to be prorogued to the twentieth of September following. In the mean time the court abounded in all its excesses. There had been some hope during the abode at Oxford that the queen had been with child; and whilst that hope lasted, the king lived with more constraint and caution, and prepared to make himself



worthy of that blessing: and there are many reasons to believe, besides his own natural good inclinations, that if God had vouchsafed to have given him a child, and the queen that blessing to have merited from him, he would have restrained all those inordinate appetites and delights; and that he would seriously have applied himself to his government, and cut off all those extravagant expenses of money and time, which disturbed and corrupted the evenness of his own nature and the sincerity of his intentions, and exposed him to the temptations of those who had all the traps and snares to catch and detain him.

857 The imagination of the queen's breeding was one cause of her stay there; and her stay there was the longer, because she miscarried when she intended to begin her journey. And though the doctors declared that it was a real miscarriage, ripe enough to make a judgment of the sex; yet some of the women who had more credit with the king assured him, "that it was only a false conception, and that she had not been at all with child:" insomuch that his majesty, who had been so confident upon a former [occasion], as to declare to the queen his mother and to others, "that upon his own knowledge her majesty had miscarried of a son," suffered himself now to be so totally convinced by those ladies and other women, that he did as positively believe that she never had, never could be, with child. And from that time he took little pleasure in her conversation, and more indulged to himself all liberties in the conversation of those, who used all their skill to supply him with divertisements, which might drive all that was serious out of his thoughts, and make him undervalue those whom he had used, and still did most trust and employ, in what he thought most important; though he sometimes thought many things not of importance, which in the consequence were of the highest.

858 The lady, who had never declined in favour, was now

greater in power than ever: she was with child again, and well enough contented that his majesty should entertain an amour with another lady, and made a very strict friendship with her, it may be the more diligently out of confidence that he would never prevail with her, which many others believed too. But without doubt the king's passion was stronger towards that other lady, than ever it was to any other woman: and she carried it with that discretion and modesty, that she made no other use of it than for the convenience of her own fortune and subsistence, which was narrow enough; never seemed disposed to interpose in the least degree in business, nor to speak ill of any body; which kind of nature and temper the more inflamed the king's affection, who did not in his nature love a busy woman, and had an aversion from speaking with any woman, or hearing them speak, of any business but to that purpose he thought them all made for, however they broke in afterwards upon him to all other purposes.

859 The lady herself, who every day (as was said before) grew in power and credit, did not yet presume to interpose in any other business, than in giving all the imaginable countenance she could to those who desired to depend upon her, and, in their right as well as her own, in depressing the credit of those who she knew wished hers much less than it was; but in this last argument she was hitherto wary, and took only such opportunities as were offered, without going out of her way to find them. Her principal business was to get an estate for herself and her children, which she thought the king at least as much concerned to provide as she to solicit; which however she would not be wanting in, and so procured round sums of money out of the privy purse, (where she had placed Mr. May,) and other assignations in other names, and so the less taken notice of, though in great proportions: all which yet amounted to little more than to pay her debts,

which she had in few years contracted to an unimaginable greatness, and to defray her constant expenses, which were very excessive in coaches and horses, clothes and jewels, without any thing of generosity, or gratifying any of her family, or so much as paying any of her father's debts, whereof some were very clamorous. Her name was not used in any suits for the grant of lands; for besides that there was no avowing or public mention of natural children, she did think the chancellor and treasurer willing to obstruct such grants, and desired not to have any occasion to try the kindness of either of them: and so all the suits she made of that kind were with reference to Ireland, where they had no title to obstruct, nor natural opportunity to know, what was granted; and in that kingdom she procured the grant of several great quantities of land, like to prove of great benefit and value to her or her children.

860 The chief design they now began to design, and the worst they could ever design, was to raise a jealousy in the king of his brother, to which his majesty was not in any degree inclined, and had in truth a just affection for him and confidence in him, without thinking better of his natural parts than he thought there was cause for; and yet, which made it the more wondered at, he did very often depart in matters of the highest moment from his own judgment to comply with his brother, who was instructed, by those who too well knew the king's nature, to adhere to any thing he once advised, and to be importunate in any thing he proposed; in which he prevailed the more easily, because he never used it in any thing that concerned himself or his own benefit.

861 The truth is, it was the unhappy fate and constitution of that family, that they trusted naturally the judgments of those, who were as much inferior to them in understanding as they were in quality, before their own, which was very good; and suffered even their natures, which

disposed them to virtue and justice, to be prevailed upon and altered and corrupted by those, who knew how to make use of some one infirmity that they discovered in them; and by complying with that, and cherishing and serving it, they by degrees wrought upon the mass, and sacrificed all the other good inclinations to that single vice. They were too much inclined to like men at first sight, and did not love the conversation of men of many more years than themselves, and thought age not only troublesome but impertinent. They did not love to deny, and less to strangers than to their friends; not out of bounty or generosity, which was a flower that did never grow naturally in the heart of either of the families, that of Stuart or the other of Bourbon, but out of an unskillfulness and defect in the countenance: and when they prevailed with themselves to make some pause rather [than] to deny, importunity removed all resolution, which they knew neither how to shut out nor to defend themselves against, even when it was evident enough that they had much rather not consent; which often made that which would have looked like bounty lose all its grace and lustre.

862 If the duke seemed to be more firm and fixed in his resolutions, it was rather from an obstinacy in his will, which he defended by aversion from the debate, than [from] the constancy of his judgment, which was more subject to persons than to arguments, and so as changeable at least as the king's, which was in greatest danger by surprise: and from this want of steadiness and irresolution (whencesoever the infirmity proceeded) most of the misfortunes, which attended either of them or their servants who served them honestly, had [their] rise and growth; of which there will be shortly an occasion, and too frequently, to say much more. In the mean time it cannot be denied, and was observed and confessed by all, that never any prince had a more humble and dutiful

condescension and submission to an elder brother, than the duke had towards the king: his whole demeanour and behaviour was so full of reverence, that [it] might have given example to be imitated by those, who ought but did not observe a greater distance. And the conscience and resentment he had within himself, for the sally he had made in Flanders, made him after so wary in his actions, and so abhorring to hear any thing that might lessen his awe for the king, that no man who had most credit with [him] durst approach towards any thing of that kind; so that there was never less ground of jealousy than of him. And (as was said before) the king (who was in his nature so far from any kind of jealousy, that he was too much inclined to make interpretations of many words and actions which might reasonably harbour other apprehensions) was as incapable of any infusions which might lessen his confidence in his brother, as any noble and virtuous mind could be. And therefore those ill men, who began about this time to sow that cursed seed that grew up to bear a large crop of the worst and rankest jealousy in the succeeding time, did not presume to make any reflection upon the duke himself, but upon his wife, “upon the state she assumed, and the height of the whole family, that lived in much more plenty,” they said, “than the king’s, and were more regarded abroad.”

- 863 Such kind of people are never without some particular stories of the persons whom they desire to deprave: and so [they] had many instances, which they used upon all occasions, of some levity or vanity, of some words affected by the duchess, or some outward carriage, true or false, which for the most part concluded in mirth and laughter, and seemed ridiculous; which was the method they used in all their approaches of that kind towards the highest acts of malice, first to make the person, whom they hoped to ruin in the end, less esteemed, by the acting and presentation of his words and gestures and motions; which

commonly is attended with laughter. And this is the first breach they make upon any man's reputation; and the frequent custom of this kind of laughter and mirth, which is easily produced without any malice, doth in the end open a space large enough to let [in] calumny and scandal enough to weaken, if not to destroy, the best built reputation.

864 This was the course they held with reference to the duchess, whom the king had from the beginning treated with great grace and favour, and considered her as a woman of more than an ordinary wit and understanding; and the queen mother had from the reconciliation used her with that abundant affection and familiarity that was very wonderful; and the heights she assumed, and all that greatness which many thought too much, [were] not only inculcated, but enjoined by the queen as a duty due to her husband, of whose high degree she thought she could not be too tender and careful. And she had the happiness so well to behave herself towards the duke, that he was exceedingly pleased with her, and lived towards her with an affection so remarkable and notorious, that it grew to be the public discourse and commendation; and which made the liberties that were taken elsewhere the more spoken of and censured. It was very visible that he liked her company and conversation very well, and was believed to communicate all his counsels, and all he knew or thought, without reserve to her; which, being so contrary to the professed doctrine of the court, administered occasion to the men of mirth, in those seasons which took up a good part of every night, to be very pleasant upon the government of the duchess, and the submission [of the duke]; in which there were always some witty reflections upon the chancellor. And this kind of liberty, being first grateful to the king for the wit that accompanied it and the mirth that it produced, grew by the custom of it the more acceptable; and it may be the general and

public observation of the disparity in the lives of the two brothers made it wished, that there were no more of that strictness in the one place than in the other, towards which there wanted not application and advice accordingly as well as example.

865 In the mean time the chancellor had a hard part to act, being neither able to do the good he constantly endeavoured on one side, nor remove the ill he disliked on the other side; for he saw well the mischief that would inevitably follow the great expenses of the duke, which exceeded all limits, and could never be provided for; and thought the duchess to be blamed for what she spent upon herself, and used all the credit he had with both to begin in time to reform what necessity would shortly do with more dishonour: but the disease had grown from the first ill digestion.

866 The lord Berkley had upon the king's first arrival formed a family without rule or precedent, and made the servants in a much better condition than the master, by assigning liberal pensions and allowances to them, who had paid him dear for their places, without considering from what fund they should arise: and now they all would have the duke believe, "that he spent not too much; but that he had too little provision assigned to him for his quality and relation, and [that] this proceeded from the neglect in the chancellor, who was able, if he endeavoured it, to persuade the king to enlarge it to a just proportion." And this was as much urged to the duchess as to the duke, and it made in her a greater impression; and though she had in all other respects a very entire affection and even a duty and resignation to her father, yet in this he had no authority with her, nor did she think him a competent judge what expenses princes should make: and having seen the state and lustre in which the duke of Anjou lived in France, and having received many infusions from the queen, of the great defect in the customs

of England, in providing either for the respect or for the support of the younger sons of the crown, [she thought] that the chancellor should rather use his credit for the enlarging that narrowness, which the king was enough disposed to, than to reform their expenses. But of this enough.

867 The plague had really swept away and destroyed so many seamen, (Stepney and the places adjacent, which were their common habitations, being almost depopulated,) that now, all other obstructions being removed, there seemed even an impossibility to procure sailors and mariners enough to set out the fleet; insomuch as they found it necessary to press many watermen, and to disfurnish all merchant ships which were prepared to be set out to the plantations or to other places of trade: all which turned not so much to benefit one way, as it did to loss another way. But the best way to expedite all things was the two admirals going to the fleet themselves, that they who resolved to go might hasten thither, and that they who had no mind to go might, out of shame, likewise accompany them.

868 There appeared great unanimity and consent between them. Only prince Rupert had a great desire to go in a ship apart, and that they might not be both in [one] ship; but upon debate it appeared to be unpracticable, and that in a time of action the orders could not be the same, if they who gave them were not together and in the same place; and so the prince was persuaded not to be positive in that particular. And so they both went together, and took leave of the king towards the end of April, and laboured so effectually, (as they were both men of great dexterity, and indefatigable industry in such conjunctures,) that they carried the fleet out to sea, well fitted and provided, by the middle of May; with which they presently visited the coast of Holland, and took many prizes; and, by the intelligence they met with, concluded that the



Dutch fleet would not be ready in a month, of which they gave the king advertisement, and returned into the Downs. And prince Rupert at the same time expressed an inclination to go himself with part of the fleet to meet the duke of Beaufort, who was reported to be under sail to join with the Dutch, and “that they would not put to sea till they foresaw that they were like to join about Calais.”

869 At or near the same time the lord Arlington received intelligence, “that the Dutch were not yet well manned; and that the ships which were in the Texel, and were to join with the other under De Ruyter in the Wierings, were more unprovided:” though at the same time secretary Morrice (who had always better intelligence from Holland) was assured from thence, “that all the ships in both places were so ready that they would join within very few days.” But the lord Arlington, who thought he ought to be more believed, received as positive advertisement from France, “that the duke of Beaufort set sail from Brest on such a day:” and though the wind had not been yet directly favourable for him, it was concluded that he must be well advanced in his way, and he had no port to friend till he came to the coast of France near Calais.

870 Upon this there seemed a great desire that prince Rupert might take the course he had proposed; for the convenience was agreed to be very great, if the French could be met with before the conjunction. However, the council was so wary that at that time attended the king at Worcester-house, the chancellor being affected with the gout, that they advised the king “not to send positive orders for the dividing the fleet, which by many accidents might produce inconveniences; but rather to send two of the council to the fleet, with an account of all the intelligence, and the reflections which occurred to the king upon it.” And hereupon sir George Carteret and sir William Coventry were presently sent, and carried such orders with them, as would be necessary if the generals

had not other intelligence, or did think that the division was not liable to more objections than had been in view. And this caution I set down more particularly, because the council underwent reproaches which it did not deserve.

871 The two counsellors used such expedition, and found so good conveniences by land and water, that they returned to the king the next day with an account, "that the state of the Dutch fleet was confirmed to be the same that his majesty had heard, and that they believed the other concerning the duke of Beaufort to be very probable; whereupon they had concluded with a mutual consent and approbation, that prince Rupert should take twenty of the ships, which he had already chosen, to meet the French, though they were superior in number, whilst the general remained in the Downs with the rest: and in order to this, that the prince went aboard his ship before they came away, and the rather, because the wind was so much against him, that his majesty's orders, if he found cause to send any, would be sure for some days to find him upon the western coast; and the wind that was against him was so favourable to the duke of Beaufort, that it was probable they might speedily meet, and in a place to be wished." The king saw no cause yet to send orders to the contrary; and this was the reason, and all the circumstances, of the separation of the fleet, that proved unfortunate.

872 It appeared very soon after which secretary had the better intelligence; for the very next day after the departure of the prince, the general, who remained in the Downs, had certain intelligence that the Dutch were come out of their harbours, having it seems received intelligence likewise of the French fleet's being at sea, and being obliged to meet them, and had been long ready to do so; which had deceived the court, they believing that they stayed because they were not ready to come out; whereas

they were ready, and expected only the other advertisement.

873 As soon as the general was informed, he sent notice presently to the duke late in the same evening, who, informing the king of it, gave orders to sir William Coventry to prepare orders to prince Rupert immediately to return; and if those orders had been carefully despatched, they might have come to the prince before the morning. But sir William Coventry thought he had done his part when he got the order signed, which was about twelve of the clock at night, and then sent them by his servant to the lord Arlington, whose part he thought it was to charge a messenger with them: but he was gone to bed, and his servants durst not disquiet him, a tenderness not accustomed to be in the family of a secretary. But whether they did not wake him, as he pretended, or being awake he deferred it, it was not sent away till the next day, and never came to prince Rupert's hand till he had turned his sails upon the thunder of the cannon; and he no sooner endeavoured to return, but the wind chopped about to retard him, that he could make little way that day or the night following. Whose fault it was that these important orders were not sent with more expedition, whether sir William Coventry ought not to have taken care for the conveying them, at least to have given the lord Arlington notice what the contents of them were, of which he denied to have any notice, was disputed with some warmth between themselves, and so came to be published: but it was never examined any where else, though the negligence was very mischievous in its effect; but they were both too great men to be questioned in any judicatory.

874 The general, after the notice he had received of the motion of the Dutch, ordered the fleet to weigh anchor about three of the clock in the morning upon the first of June 1666, to sail to the Buoy of the Gunfleet to join

with some other ships which lay there, to get more men, being then but ill manned : and about seven of the clock in the morning the scouts came in, and brought the general notice, that the Dutch fleet was to the leeward, and probably intended to decline fighting till they might join with the French. And it had been to be wished that the English had stood off too, upon confidence that prince Rupert, whom the wind had kept from being far off, as they could not but know, would receive direction from court to return. But the general (who was as impatient upon the sight of an enemy to engage with him as prince Rupert himself, and had a natural contempt of the Dutch) called his flag-officers to council, and quickly resolved, “that it was not convenient nor safe nor honourable to decline the battle, lest it might take off the present courage of the seamen.” And truly in all those consultations, upon the like occasions, whoever proposed any wary advice ran great hazard of being reputed a coward. And so they bore up with a full wind upon the enemy, notwithstanding the visible disadvantage they were in, in respect of the strength of the enemy, for in the absence of prince Rupert there remained little above fifty sail with the general ; whereas De Ruyter’s fleet consisted of above fourscore sail, who easily perceived his advantage, and that a great part of the English fleet was absent, and so willingly embraced the occasion, and made what sail he could to meet with them.

875 It was about two of the clock in the afternoon when the engagement began ; and the English had got the wind, which was so high that they could not carry out their lower tiers. The admiral was so shattered in his rigging and masts, that he was compelled to get off and anchor, that he might mend what was amiss ; and many of his squadron had their main-yards shot off, and received such damage in their tackling, which was the chief aim of the Dutch, that they could hardly govern their ships. And

by this means the enemy got the wind; and the battle continued with great fierceness, and loss of many men on both sides, till nine or ten of the clock at night, when all were willing to have some rest.

876 That night was spent in repairing masts and rigging: and at six of the clock in the morning the battle began again with the same fierceness, and lasted till night. And that day the Dutch suffered much, and one of their vice-admirals was boarded and afterwards sunk, as many of their other ships likewise were; so that they began to fall off: when sixteen new great ships came to their aid, which gave them new courage; so that they renewed and maintained the fight with great resolution, and killed many men of the English, and disabled many of the ships, till the night again parted them.

877 Upon the account the general received that night, and the new access of force to the Dutch, he thought it necessary to retire; for though he had lost no ship, very many were so disabled, that there was reason to fear they would hardly hold out to recover the shore. And thereupon he caused all those ships to be put before and make all the sail they could, and himself with sixteen ships in a breadth went in the rear: which as soon as the enemy perceived, they pursued, but came not within reach of their guns till four of the clock in the afternoon; and then, though they shot hard, they did very little harm, the sternpieces of the English overreaching their broadsides, which made many of them get off as quickly as they could. But by this time the English descried about twenty sail of ships standing towards them, which they concluded to be prince Rupert, (as it proved:) and so being earnest to join, they edged up towards them, but so unfortunately, that many of the flag ships were on ground off the Galloper-sand. But with much ado they all got off safe, the Royal Prince only excepted, which for this last age, and till the late war, was held the best ship

in the world. This brave ship stuck so fast, that no art or industry could move her; so that the enemy, when they found they could not carry her off, set her on fire, and took the captain, sir George Ayscue, and all the company prisoners, and without distinction used all with great barbarity, in which they pretended only to use retaliation. That night prince Rupert joined: and then they bore to the northward, that they might get clear of the sands; and thereby the enemy got the wind again.

878 The fourth day of the battle, which was the fourth of June, the enemy being to windward about three leagues, the generals in the morning made all sail towards them: and they lay with their sails to the masts to stay for them, which they would not have had the courage to have done, if they had not had intelligence from the prisoners of the Prince, in how tattered a condition the fleet was. The battle began about eight of the clock in the morning with extraordinary confidence on both sides, the Dutch continuing their old guard, to spend all their shot upon the rigging and masts, and to defend themselves from being boarded, which the English most intended and laboured to do. But the design of the others succeeded better: insomuch that one of the vice-admirals of a squadron, and other of the best ships, were so disabled that they bore off from the battle, that they might mend and repair; which gave no small encouragement to the enemy. But the two generals were invincible, and continued the battle all the day in several forms, and by the advantage of the wind fired six or seven of their ships, and sunk others, and had two or three of their own likewise sunk. And between six and seven at night, as if by consent, (and no doubt both sides were very weary of the encounter,) they separated without looking after each other, and hastened to their several coasts; many of the English being so hurt in yards, masts, rigging, and

hulls, many of them wanting men to ply their guns, and their powder and shot near spent, that with very much difficulty they got into harbour: and so concluded that great action, wherein either side pretended to have advantage, and both lost very much.

879 The next day after the battle was spent in fitting their masts and repairing their rigging, that they might be able to reach the coast: and when they came near it, the generals called a council about disposing those ships which could not remain at sea, and sent them to such several places as they might be soonest repaired in; and gave every captain very strict order, “that all possible diligence and expedition should be used to get their ships ready, and furnished with whatsoever was wanting;” and the commissioners of the navy were required to be assistant in all places. And so wonderful diligence was used, (which appears almost incredible,) that the whole fleet was so well fitted, that by the seventeenth day of the same month, within a fortnight after so terrible a battle, it was gathered together to a rendezvous to the Buoy of the Nore. The enemy made as much haste, rather to meet with the French, who were every day still expected, than to fight with the English, and kept as near to their own coast as conveniently they could: so that how ready soever the generals were (who had never left their ships) with the fleet by the seventeenth of the month, the winds were so averse or so calm, that it was the four and twentieth day of that month before they could reach the sight of the enemy.

880 And the next day, which was the twenty-fifth, the English made all the sail they could, and by ten in the morning engaged in as hot an encounter as had hitherto been in any engagement: and though the Dutch seemed not to fight with the same spirit and mettle, yet the battle held till two in the afternoon, when by the advantage of the wind they bore away faster than the English

could follow. However, here they took vice-admiral Banchart, and his ship of threescore guns and three hundred men was burned; and another ship of seventy guns and three hundred men was likewise taken and burned; which the generals thought better, than to undergo the possible inconvenience of keeping them: and so they kept up as close to the enemy in the night as they could do. The next morning they used all their sails, and designed to board De Ruyter; which, the wind lessening, they could not effect, he fighting very well, but running faster: and so, though very well pursued, he got into his fastness at the Wierings, with those who were nearest to him. But the rest, who were further off, and were like to have the benefit of the night, tacked about: which they who attacked De Ruyter perceiving, and that they could follow him no further, and that the rest were five and forty sail, they followed them, the generals doing all they could with their squadron to put themselves between them and the coast; but the wind growing on a sudden calm, about midnight they dropped their anchors, that they might not be driven further than they had a mind to be. But in the morning, when they weighed anchor to pursue them, and made all the way they could with a little wind, the enemy got so close to their own shore, their ships drawing less water than the English, that there could be no further pursuit.

881 Another part of the fleet, which was separated when De Ruyter got into the Wierings, and which the generals looked upon as their own, was so unhappily pursued, though by men of very good name, that they escaped; which raised a great distemper in the fleet, whilst some officers of the prime and most unquestionable courage charged and accused others, who had always given great testimony that they durst do any thing, "of base declining to fight when the enemy was in their power, and that they chose rather to suffer them to escape than to en-



counter them.” And this dispute and expostulation, between men who had many seconds, divided the generals, one declaring himself on the one side [as the other did on] the other; but they wisely laid aside the debate, till they should be at more leisure with less inconvenience to determine it.

882 The generals thereupon, having thus scattered the enemy, resolved to ply upon the Dutch coast to take all ships of trade, which they did; and off the Texel and the Flie took many rich prizes, both homeward and outward bound, of great value. And they having now nothing to do but to lie still, there was a Dutch captain, one Laurence Van Humskerke, who after the first battle, in the faction between Evertson and Van Trump, had given De Wit so great an advantage, that if he had not made his escape, he had been hanged, who from that time had always been on board with prince Rupert: this man, whilst the fleet lay in this posture, advised prince Rupert to attempt a place near the Flie, which was so locked in the land that it was always looked upon as very secure, (and where all ships laden at Amsterdam for the Straits and those parts, when they were outward bound, used to lie two or three days, as in a safe port, until all things which might be forgotten [were prepared], and all the company came together,) and had never been invaded in any war; and by it was a pretty large village, called Schelling, which had many good houses in it, besides others inhabited by, and for the entertainment of, seamen.

883 This enterprise was committed to sir Robert Holmes, a very bold and expert man; who, with a number of small vessels very well manned, besides a body of stout foot to land upon occasions, being assisted by the Dutchman, so vigorously assaulted it, that he burned all the Dutch ships lying there, being of inestimable value, all outward bound, and some of them worth above one hun-

dred thousand pounds each ship. They burned likewise the whole town of Schelling; which conflagration, with that of the ships, appearing at the break of day so near Amsterdam, put that place into that consternation that they thought the day of judgment was come, not thinking of their ships there, as being out of the power or reach of any enemy: and no doubt it was the greatest loss that state sustained in the whole war, that is, greater than all the rest. And as this victory, if it can be called a victory when there is no resistance, occasioned great triumph in England, so it raised great thoughts of heart in De Wit, and a resolution of revenge before any peace should be consented to; which they effected to a good degree the next year.

- 884 There appeared no more likelihood of the Dutch coming out again: so about the fifteenth of August the generals returned to Southwold Bay, to receive a recruit of men, provisions, and ammunition, having left ships enough upon the coast of Holland to take prizes, and scouts upon the coast to get intelligence in what readiness the enemy's fleet was, and what was done within the land. And about the twenty-seventh a little pink, that waited upon the coast of Zealand, brought notice that the enemy, consisting of about fourscore sail of ships, were ready to come out from the Wierings; and the next day they were assured that they were come out and bound westward, by which they concluded that they had hope to join the French fleet. Whereupon the generals gave present orders to unmoor the fleet; and weighing anchor about seven of the clock in the morning stood to sea, and about noon discovered the Dutch fleet about four leagues to the leeward. The generals made all sail towards them: but the enemy stood away for the coast of Flanders, whilst the English were so entangled upon the Galloper-sands, that they could not stand after the enemy till late in the afternoon; so that it was night before they came

near each other, and then several guns were fired to little purpose.

885 The next morning, being the first of September, the season when the winds begin to grow boisterous, they had, upon the breaking of the day, lost the sight of the enemy, and believed that they had bore up in the night for them: but when it was light, they found that they were to the leeward, as far as they could discover, near St. John's Bay beyond Calais. The English pursued them, and making some stay for the fireships, which could not make haste by reason of the blustering weather, it was four in the afternoon before the fleet came up together to them; when De Ruyter made a show as if he would draw off from the shore towards them. But when he saw the English stand with him and advance with their usual resolution, he tacked back again, and stood close in to the shore, where the rest of the fleet was, in the Bay of Staples. And then the night came, and the wind blew so violently, that the English were forced to tack, and many of the ships were forced to the leeward, the night being so foul, that neither the generals nor the chief flags could be discerned. And though the storm continued very violent the next day, a good part of the fleet got again together, and stood to the Bay of Staples, where the Dutch still remained close under the shore at anchor, but could not be invited to come out. So the English found it necessary to stand further out to the sea; and then they discovered the rest of the fleet at a great distance to the leeward, and so bore after them, and at night they all arrived at St. Helen's Point. And though the tempest still increased, a squadron went every day out to the coast of France.

886 In this tempest the French fleet had a very narrow escape, by a providence they are seldom without. A gentleman of good quality of that nation returned at this time out of England, (whither they repaired with as much

liberty and were as kindly treated as if there were no war, whilst no Englishman could be safe there;) and landing at Calais, and finding that the duke of Beaufort was every day expected, he despatched two or three barks to find him, with information how and where the English lay; one of which came so luckily to him towards the evening, that he changed his course, and by the darkness of the night got into the road of Dieppe, where he dropped his anchors. But his vice-admiral, being the biggest and the best ship but one in the fleet, and carrying seventy pieces of cannon, pursuing the course he was directed, in the dark of the night fell amongst the English, as the rest had done if it had not been for that advertisement; and after a little defending himself, which he saw was to no purpose, was taken prisoner, and desired to be brought to prince Rupert, who knew him well, and treated him as a gallant person ought to be, and caused many things which belonged to his own person to be restored to him; and when he was brought into England, he found another kind of reception (though he was prisoner in the Tower) than any of the English, though of the same quality, met with abroad. By this accident the French fleet made a happy escape: and the continuance of the storm for many days kept the English and the Dutch from any further engagement. But the same winds, and at the same time, did much more mischief at land than at sea.

887 It was upon the first day of that September, in the dismal year of 1666, (in which many prodigies were expected, and so many really fell out,) that that memorable and terrible fire brake out in London, which begun about midnight, or near the morning of Sunday, in a baker's house at the end of Thames-street next the Tower, there being many little narrow alleys and very poor houses about the place where it first appeared; and then finding such store of combustibile materials, as that street is always furnished with in timber-houses, the fire prevailed

so powerfully, that that whole street and the neighbourhood was in so short a time turned to ashes, that few persons had time to save and preserve any of their goods; but were a heap of people almost as dead with the sudden distraction, as the ruins were which they sustained. The magistrates of the city assembled quickly together, and with the usual remedies of buckets, which they were provided with: but the fire was too ravenous to be extinguished with such quantities of water as those instruments could apply to it, and fastened still upon new materials before it had destroyed the old. And though it raged furiously all that day, to that degree that all men stood amazed, as spectators only, no man knowing what remedy to apply, nor the magistrates what orders to give; yet it kept within some compass, burned what was next, and laid hold only on both sides; and the greatest apprehension was of the Tower, and all considerations entered upon how to secure that place.

888 But in the night the wind changed, and carried the danger from thence, but with so great and irresistible violence, that as it kept the English and Dutch fleets from grappling when they were so near each other, so it scattered the fire from pursuing the line it was in with all its force, and spread it over the city: so that they, who went late to bed at a great distance from any place where the fire prevailed, were awakened before morning with their own houses being in a flame; and whilst endeavour was used to quench that, other houses were discovered to be burning, which were near no place from whence they could imagine the fire could come; all which kindled another fire in the breasts of men, almost as dangerous as that within their houses.

889 Monday morning produced first a jealousy, and then an universal conclusion, that this fire came not by chance, nor did they care where it began; but the breaking out in several places at so great distance from each other

made it evident, that it was by conspiracy and combination. And this determination could not hold long without discovery of the wicked authors, who were concluded to be all the Dutch and all the French in the town, though they had inhabited the same places above twenty years. All of that kind, or, if they were strangers, of what nation soever, were laid hold of; and after all the ill usage that can consist in words, and some blows and kicks, they were thrown into prison. And shortly after, the same conclusion comprehended all the Roman catholics, the papists, who were in the same predicament of guilt and danger, and quickly found that their only safety consisted in keeping within doors; and yet some of them, and of quality, were taken by force out of their houses, and carried to prison.

890 When this rage spread as far as the fire, and every hour brought reports of some bloody effects of it, worse than in truth there were, the king distributed many of the privy-council into several quarters of the city, to prevent, by their authorities, those inhumanities which he heard were committed. In the mean time, even they or any other person thought it [not] safe to declare, "that they believed that the fire came by accident, or that it was not a plot of the Dutch and the French and papists to burn the city;" which was so generally believed, and in the best company, that he who said the contrary was suspected for a conspirator, or at best a favourer of them. It could not be conceived, how a house that was distant a mile from any part of the fire could suddenly be in a flame, without some particular malice; and this case fell out every hour. When a man at the furthest end of Bread-street had made a shift to get out of his house his best and most portable goods, because the fire had approached near them; he no sooner had secured them, as he thought, in some friend's house in Holborn, which was believed a safe distance, but he saw that very house, and

none else near it, in a sudden flame. Nor did there want, in this woful distemper, the testimony of witnesses who saw this villainy committed, and apprehended men who they were ready to swear threw fireballs into houses, which were presently burning.

891 The lord Hollis and lord Ashley, who had their quarters assigned about Newgate-market and the streets adjacent, had many brought to them in custody for crimes of this nature; and saw, within a very little distance from the place where they were, the people gathered together in great disorder; and as they came nearer saw a man in the middle of them without a hat or cloak, pulled and hauled and very ill used, whom they knew to be a servant to the Portugal ambassador, who was presently brought to them. And a substantial citizen was ready to take his oath, "that he saw that man put his hand in his pocket, and throw into a shop a fireball; upon which he saw the house immediately on fire: whereupon, being on the other side of the way, and seeing this, he cried out to the people to stop that gentleman, and made all the haste he could himself;" but the people had first seized upon him, and taken away his sword, which he was ready to draw; and he not speaking nor understanding English, they had used him in the manner set down before. The lord Hollis told him what he was accused of, and "that he was seen to have thrown somewhat out of his pocket, which they thought to be a fireball, into a house which was now on fire:" and the people had diligently searched his pockets to find more of the same commodities, but found nothing that they meant to accuse him of. The man standing in great amazement to hear he was so charged, the lord Hollis asked him, "what it was that he pulled out of his pocket, and what it was he threw into the house:" to which he answered, "that he did not think that he had put his hand into his pocket; but he remembered very well, that as he walked in the street, he saw a piece of

bread upon the ground, which he took up, and laid upon a shelf in the next house ;” which is a custom or superstition so natural to the Portuguese, that if the king of Portugal were walking, and saw a piece of bread upon the ground, he would take it up with his own hand, and keep it till he saw a fit place to lay it down.

892 The house being in view, the lords with many of the people walked to it, and found the piece of bread just within the door upon a board, where he said he laid it ; and the house on fire was two doors beyond it, which the man who was on the other side of the way, and saw this man put his hand into the house without staying, and presently after the fire break out, concluded to be the same house ; which was very natural in the fright that all men were in : nor did the lords, though they were satisfied, set the poor man at liberty ; but, as if there remained ground enough of suspicion, committed him to the constable, to be kept by him in his own house for some hours, when they pretended they would examine him again. Nor were any persons who were seized upon in the same manner, as multitudes were in all the parts of the town, especially if they were strangers or papists, presently discharged, when there was no reasonable ground to suspect ; but all sent to prison, where they were in much more security than they could have been in full liberty, after they were once known to have been suspected ; and most of them understood their commitment to be upon that ground, and were glad of it.

893 The fire and the wind continued in the same excess all Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday till afternoon, and flung and scattered brands burning into all quarters ; the nights more terrible than the days, and the light the same, the light of the fire supplying that of the sun. And indeed whoever was an eyewitness of that terrible prospect, can never have so lively an image of the last conflagration till he beholds it ; the faces of all people in



a wonderful dejection and discomposure, not knowing where they could repose themselves for one hour's sleep, and no distance thought secure from the fire, which suddenly started up before it was suspected; so that people left their houses and carried away their goods from many places which received no hurt, and whither they afterwards returned again; all the fields full of women and children, who had made a shift to bring thither some goods and conveniences to rest upon, as safer than any houses, where yet they felt such intolerable heat and drought, as if they had been in the middle of the fire. The king and the duke, who rode from one place to another, and put themselves into great dangers amongst the burning and falling houses, to give advice and direction what was to be done, underwent as much fatigue as the meanest, and had as little sleep or rest; and the faces of all men appeared ghastly and in the highest confusion. The country sent in carts to help those miserable people who had saved any goods: and by this means, and the help of coaches, all the neighbour villages were filled with more people than they could contain, and more goods than they could find room for; so that those fields became likewise as full as the other about London and Westminster.

894 It was observed that where the fire prevailed most, when it met with brick buildings, if it was not repulsed, it was so well resisted that it made a much slower progress; and when it had done its worst, that the timber and all the combustible matter fell, it fell down to the bottom within the house, and the walls stood and enclosed the fire, and it was burned out without making a further progress in many of those places; and then the vacancy so interrupted the fury of it, that many times the two or three next houses stood without much damage. Besides the spreading, insomuch as all London seemed but one fire in the breadth of it, it seemed to continue in its full

fury a direct line to the Thames side, all Cheapside from beyond the Exchange, through Fleet-street; insomuch as for that breadth, taking in both sides as far as the Thames, there was scarce a house or church standing from the bridge to Dorset-house, which was burned on Tuesday night after Baynard's-castle.

895 On Wednesday morning, when the king saw that neither the fire decreased nor the wind lessened, he even despaired of preserving Whitehall, but was more afraid of Westminster-abbey. But having observed by his having visited all places, that where there were any vacant places between the houses, by which the progress of the fire was interrupted, it changed its course and went to the other side; he gave order for pulling down many houses about Whitehall, some whereof were newly built and hardly finished, and sent many of his choice goods by water to Hampton-Court; as most of the persons of quality in the Strand, who had the benefit of the river, got barges and other vessels, and sent their furniture for their houses to some houses some miles out of the town. And very many on both sides the Strand, who knew not whither to go, and scarce what they did, fled with their families out of their houses into the streets, that they might not be within when the fire fell upon their houses.

896 But it pleased God, contrary to all expectation, that on Wednesday, about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, the wind fell: and as in an instant the fire decreased, having burned all on the Thames side to the new buildings of the Inner Temple next to White-friars, and having consumed them, was stopped by that vacancy from proceeding further into that house; but laid hold on some old buildings which joined to Ram-alley, and swept all those into Fleet-street. And the other side being likewise destroyed to Fetter-lane, it advanced no further; but left the other part of Fleet-street to the Temple-bar, and all the Strand, unhurt, but what damage the owners

of the houses had done to themselves by endeavouring to remove; and it ceased in all other parts of the town near the same time: so that the greatest care then was, to keep good guards to watch the fire that was upon the ground, that it might not break out again. And this was the better performed, because they who had yet their houses standing had not the courage to sleep, but watched with much less distraction; though the same distemper still remained in the utmost extent, “that all this had fallen out by the conspiracy of the French and Dutch with the papists;” and all gaols were filled with those who were every hour apprehended upon that jealousy; or rather upon some evidence that they were guilty of the crime. And the people were so sottish, that they believed that all the French in the town (which no doubt were a very great number) were drawn into a body, to prosecute those by the sword who were preserved from the fire: and the inhabitants of a whole street have ran in a great tumult one way, upon the rumour that the French were marching at the other end of it; so terrified men were with their own apprehensions.

897 When the night, though far from being a quiet one, had somewhat lessened the consternation, the first care the king took was, that the country might speedily supply markets in all places, that they who had saved themselves from burning might not be in danger of starving; and if there had not been extraordinary care and diligence used, many would have perished that way. The vast destruction of corn, and all other sorts of provisions, in those parts where the fire had prevailed, had not only left all that people destitute of all that was to be eat or drank; but the bakers and brewers, which inhabited the other parts which were unhurt, had forsaken their houses, and carried away all that was portable: insomuch as many days passed, before they were enough in their wits and in their houses to fall to their occupations; and those parts

of the town which God had spared and preserved were many hours without any thing to eat, as well as they who were in the fields. And yet it can hardly be conceived, how great a supply of all kinds was brought from all places within four and twenty hours. And which was more miraculous, in four days, in all the fields about the town, which had seemed covered with those whose habitations were burned, and with the goods which they had saved, there was scarce a man to be seen: all found shelter in so short a time, either in those parts which remained of the city and in the suburbs, or in the neighbour villages; all kind of people expressing a marvellous charity towards those who appeared to be undone. And very many, with more expedition than can be conceived, set up little sheds of brick and timber upon the ruins of their own houses, where they chose rather to inhabit than in more convenient places, though they knew they could not long reside in those new buildings.

898 The king was not more troubled at any particular, than at the imagination which possessed the hearts of so many, that all this mischief had fallen out by a real and formed conspiracy; which, albeit he saw no colour to believe, he found very many intelligent men, and even some of his own council, who did really believe it. Whereupon he appointed the privy-council to sit both morning and evening, to examine all evidence of that kind that should be brought before them, and to send for any persons who had been committed to prison upon some evidence that made the greatest noise; and sent for the lord chief justice, who was in the country, to come to the town for the better examination of all suggestions and allegations of that kind, there having been some malicious report scattered about the town, "that the court had so great a prejudice against any kind of testimony of such a conspiracy, that they discountenanced all witnesses who came before them to testify what they knew;" which was

without any colour of truth. Yet many, who were produced as if their testimony would remove all doubts, made such senseless relations of what they had been told, without knowing the condition of the persons who told them, or where to find them, that it was a hard matter to forbear smiling at their evidence. Some Frenchmen's houses had been searched, in which had been found many of those shells for squibs and other fireworks, frequently used in nights of joy and triumph; and the men were well known, and had lived many years there by that trade, and had no other: and one of these was the king's servant, and employed by the office of ordnance for making grenades of all kinds, as well for the hand as for mortarpieces. Yet these men were looked upon as in the number of the conspirators, and remained still in prison till their neighbours solicited for their liberty. And it cannot be enough wondered at, that in this general rage of the people no mischief was done to the strangers, that no one of them was assassinated outright, though many were sorely beaten and bruised.

899 There was a very odd accident that confirmed many in what they were inclined to believe, and startled others, who thought the conspiracy impossible, since no combination not very discernible and discovered could have effected that mischief, in which the immediate hand of God was so visible. Amongst many Frenchmen who had been sent to Newgate, there was one Hubert, a young man of five or six and twenty years of age, the son of a famous watchmaker in the city of Roan; and this fellow had wrought in the same profession with several men in London, and had for many years, both in Roan and in London, been looked upon as distracted. This man confessed "that he had set the first house on fire, and that he had been hired in Paris a year before to do it: that there were three more combined with him to do the same thing; and that they came over together into England to

put it in execution in the time of the plague: but when they were in London, he and two of his companions went into Sweden, and returned from thence in the latter end of August, and he resolved to undertake it; and that the two others went away into France."

900 The whole examination was so senseless, that the chief justice, who was not looked upon as a man who wanted rigour, did not believe any thing he said. He was asked, "who it was in Paris that suborned him to this action:" to which he answered, "that he did not know, having never seen him before;" and in the enlarging upon that point he contradicted himself in many particulars. Being asked "what money he had received to perform a service of so much hazard," he said, "he had received but a pistole, but was promised five pistoles more when he should have done his work;" and many such unreasonable things, that nobody present credited any thing he said. However, they durst not slight the evidence, but put him to a particular, in which he so fully confirmed all that he had said before, that they were surprised with wonder, and knew not afterwards what to say or think. They asked him, "if he knew the place where he first put fire:" he answered, "that he knew it very well, and would shew it to any body." Upon this the chief justice, and many aldermen who sat with him, sent a guard of substantial citizens with the prisoner, that he might shew them the house; and they first led him to a place at some distance from it, and asked him "if that were it:" to which he answered presently, "No, it was lower, nearer to the Thames." The house and all which were near it were so covered and buried in ruins, that the owners themselves, without some infallible mark, could very hardly have said where [their own houses] had stood: but this man led them directly to the place, described how it stood, the shape of the little yard, the fashion of the door and windows, and where he first put

the fire ; and all this with such exactness, that they who had dwelt long near it could not so perfectly have described all particulars.

901 This silenced all further doubts. And though the chief justice told the king, “that all his discourse was so disjointed that he did not believe him guilty ;” nor was there one man who prosecuted or accused him : yet upon his own confession, and so sensible a relation of all that he had done, accompanied with so many circumstances, ([though] without the least show of compunction or sorrow for what he said he had done, nor yet seeming to justify or to take delight in it ; but being asked whether he was not sorry for the wickedness, and whether he intended to do so much, he gave no answer at all, or made reply to what was said ; and with the same temper died,) the jury found him guilty, and he was executed accordingly. And though no man could imagine any reason why a man should so desperately throw away his life, which he might have saved though he had been guilty, since he was only accused upon his own confession ; yet neither the judges nor any present at the trial did believe him guilty, but that he was a poor distracted wretch, weary of his life, and chose to part with it this way. Certain it is, that upon the strictest examination that could be afterwards made by the king’s command, and then by the diligence of the house, that upon the general jealousy and rumour made a committee, that was very diligent and solicitous to make that discovery, there was never any probable evidence (that poor creature’s only excepted) that there was any other cause of that woful fire than the displeasure of God Almighty : the first accident of the beginning in a baker’s house, where there was so great a stock of fagots, and the neighbourhood of much combustible matter, of pitch and rosin and the like, that led it in an instant from house to house through Thames-street, with the agitation of so terrible a wind to scatter and disperse it.

902 Let the cause be what it would, the effect was very terrible; for above two parts of three of that great city were burned to ashes, and those the most rich and wealthy parts of the city, where the greatest warehouses and the best shops stood. The Royal Exchange with all the streets about it, Lombard-street, Cheapside, Paternoster-row, St. Paul's church, and almost all the other churches in the city, with the Old Bailey, Ludgate, all Paul's churchyard even to the Thames, and the greatest part of Fleet-street, all which were places the best inhabited, were all burned without one house remaining.

903 The value or estimate of what that devouring fire consumed, over and above the houses, could never be computed in any degree: for besides that the first night (which in a moment swept away the vast wealth of Thames-street) there was [not] any thing that could be preserved in respect of the suddenness and amazement, (all people being in their beds till the fire was in their houses, and so could save nothing but themselves,) the next day with the violence of the wind increased the distraction; nor did many believe that the fire was near them, or that they had reason to remove their goods, till it was upon them, and rendered it impossible. Then it fell out at a season in the year, the beginning of September, when very many of the substantial citizens and other wealthy men were in the country, whereof many had not left a servant in their houses, thinking themselves upon all ordinary accidents more secure in the goodness and kindness of their neighbours, than they could be in the fidelity of a servant; and whatsoever was in such houses was entirely consumed by the fire, or lost as to the owners. And of this classis of absent men, when the fire came where the lawyers had houses, as they had in many places, especially Sergeant's-Inn in Fleet-street, with that part of the Inner Temple that was next it and White-friars, there was scarce a man to whom those lodgings appertained



who was in Town: so that whatsoever was there, their money, books, and papers, besides the evidences of many men's estates deposited in their hands, were all burned or lost, to a very great value. But of particular men's losses could never be made any computation.

904 It was an incredible damage that was and might rationally be computed to be sustained by one small company, the company of stationers, in books, paper, and the other lesser commodities which are vendible in that corporation, which amounted to no less than two hundred thousand pounds: in which prodigious loss there was one circumstance very lamentable. All those who dwelt near Paul's carried their goods, books, paper, and the like, as others of greater trades did their commodities, into the large vaults which were under St. Paul's church, before the fire came thither: which vaults, though all the church above the ground was afterwards burned, with all the houses round about, still stood firm and supported the foundation, and preserved all that was within them; until the impatience of those who had lost their houses, and whatsoever they had else, in the fire, made them very desirous to see what they had [saved], upon which all their hopes were founded to repair the rest.

905 It was the fourth day after the fire ceased to flame, though it still burned in the ruins, from whence there was still an intolerable heat, when the booksellers especially, and some other tradesmen, who had deposited all they had preserved in the greatest and most spacious vault, came to behold all their wealth, which to that moment was safe: but the doors were no sooner opened, and the air from without fanned the strong heat within, but first the driest and most combustible matters broke into a flame, which consumed all, of what kind soever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet they who had committed their goods to some lesser vaults, at a distance from the greater, had better fortune; and having learned

from the second ruin of their friends to have more patience, attended till the rain fell, and extinguished the fire in all places, and cooled the air: and then they securely opened the doors, and received all from thence that they had there.

906 If so vast a damage as two hundred thousand pounds befell that little company of stationers in books and paper and the like, what shall we conceive was lost in cloth, (of which the country clothiers lost all that they had brought up to Blackwell-hall against Michaelmas, which was all burned with that fair structure,) in silks of all kinds, in linen, and those richer manufactures? Not to speak of money, plate, and jewels, whereof some were recovered out of the ruins of those houses which the owners took care to watch, as containing somewhat that was worth the looking for, and in which deluge there were men ready enough to fish.

907 The lord mayor, though a very honest man, was much blamed for want of sagacity in the first night of the fire, before the wind gave it much advancement: for though he came with great diligence as soon as he had notice of it, and was present with the first, yet having never been used to such spectacles, his consternation was equal to that of other men, nor did he know how to apply his authority to the remedying the present distress; and when men who were less terrified with the object pressed him very earnestly, "that he would give order for the present pulling down those houses which were nearest, and by which the fire climbed to go further," (the doing whereof at that time might probably have prevented much of the mischief that succeeded,) he thought it not safe counsel, and made no other answer, than "that he durst not do it without the consent of the owners." His want of skill was the less wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that some gentlemen of the Inner Temple would not endeavour to preserve the goods which were in the

lodgings of absent persons, nor suffer others to do it, “because,” they said, “it was against the law to break up any man’s chamber.”

- 908 The so sudden repair of those formidable ruins, and the giving so great beauty to all deformity, (a beauty and a lustre that city had never before been acquainted with,) is little less wonderful than the fire that consumed it.
- 909 It was hoped and expected that this prodigious and universal calamity, for the effects of it covered the whole kingdom, would have made impression, and produced some reformation in the license of the court: for as the pains the king had taken night and day during the fire, and the dangers he had exposed himself to, even for the saving the citizens’ goods, had been very notorious, and in the mouths of all men, with good wishes and prayers for him; so his majesty had been heard during that time to speak with great piety and devotion of the displeasure that God was provoked to. And no doubt the deep sense of it did raise many good thoughts and purposes in his royal breast. But he was narrowly watched and looked to, that such melancholic [thoughts] might not long possess him, the consequence and effect whereof was like to be more grievous than that of the fire itself; of which that loose company that was too much cherished, even before it was extinguished, discoursed as of an argument for mirth and wit to describe the wildness of the confusion all people were in; in which the scripture itself was used with equal liberty, when they could apply it to their profane purposes. And Mr. May presumed to assure the king, “that this was the greatest blessing that God had ever conferred upon him, his restoration only excepted: for the walls and gates being now burned and thrown down of that rebellious city, which was always an enemy to the crown, his majesty would never suffer them to repair and build them up again, to be a bit in his mouth and a bridle upon his neck; but would keep all open,

that his troops might enter upon them whenever he thought necessary for his service, there being no other way to govern that rude multitude but by force.”

910 This kind of discourse did not please the king, but was highly approved by the company; and for the wit and pleasantness of it was repeated in all companies, infinitely to the king's disservice, and corrupted the affections of the citizens and of the country, who used and assumed the same liberty to publish the profaneness and atheism of the court. And as nothing was done there in private, so it was made more public in pasquils and libels, which were as bold with reflections of the broadest nature upon the king himself, and upon those in whose company he was most delighted, as upon the meanest person.

911 All men of virtue and sobriety, of which there were very many in the king's family, were grieved and heartbroken with hearing what they could not choose but hear, and seeing many things which they could not avoid the seeing. There were few of the council that did not to one another lament the excesses, which must in time be attended with fatal consequences, and for the present did apparently lessen the reverence to the king, that is the best support of his royalty: but few of them had the courage to say that to his majesty which was not so fit to be said to any body else. Nor can it be denied, that his majesty did, upon all occasions, receive those advertisements from those who presented them to him, with patience and benignity, and without the least show of displeasure; though the persons concerned endeavoured no one thing more than to persuade him, “that it was the highest presumption imaginable in the privy-council to believe, that they had any jurisdiction in the court, or ought to censure the manners of it.”

912 Nor were all those endeavours without making some impression upon his majesty, who rather esteemed some particular members of it, than was inclined to believe that the body of it ought to receive a reverence from

the people, or be looked upon as a vital part of the government: in which his majesty (as hath been often said before) by the ill principles he had received in France, and the accustomed liberty of his bedchamber, was exceedingly and unhappily mistaken. For by the constitution of the kingdom, and the very laws and customs of the nation, as the privy-council and every member of it is of the king's sole choice and election of him to that trust, (for the greatest office in the state, though conferred likewise by the king himself, doth not qualify the officer to be of the privy-council, or to be present in it, before by a new assignation that honour is bestowed on him, and that he be sworn of the council;) so the body of it is the most sacred, and hath the greatest authority in the government of the state, next the person of the king himself, to whom all other powers are equally subject: and no king of England can so well secure his own just prerogative, or preserve it from violation, as by a strict defending and supporting the dignity of his privy-council.

- 913 When it was too much taken notice of, that the king himself had not that esteem or consideration of the council that was due to it, what they did or ordered to be done was less valued by the people; and that disrespect every day improved by the want of gravity and justice and constancy in the proceedings there, the resolutions of one day being reversed or altered the next, either upon some whispers in the king's ear, or some new fancy in some of those counsellors, who were always of one mind against all former orders and precedents; the pride and insolent humour of sir William Coventry taking not so much delight in any thing, as to cross and oppose whatsoever the chancellor or the treasurer advised, and to reverse what had been ordered upon that ground. And though he had sucked his milk at the charge of the law, no man was so professed an enemy to it and to the professors of it, and shewed [so little] respect to any thing passed and granted

under the great seal of England, but spake against it with the same confidence as if it had been a common scroll of no signification; which kind of behaviour in a person unqualified by any office to speak much in such an assembly, as it had never been accustomed, so it would have found much reprehension there, if it had not been for respect to the duke, and if the king himself had not very often declared himself to be of his opinion, even in particulars which himself had caused to be proposed to a contrary purpose.

914 One day his majesty called the chancellor to him, and complained very much of the license that was assumed in the coffeehouses, which were the places where the boldest calumnies and scandals were raised, and discoursed amongst a people who knew not each other, and came together only for that communication, and from thence were propagated over the kingdom; and mentioned some particular rumours which had been lately dispersed from those fountains, which on his own behalf he was enough displeased with, and asked him what was to be done in it.

915 The chancellor concurred with him in the sense of the scandal, and the mischief that must attend the impunity of such places, where the foulest imputations were laid upon the government, which were held lawful to be reported and divulged to every body but to the magistrates, who might examine and punish them; of which there having yet been no precedent, people generally believed that those houses had a charter of privilege to speak what they would, without being in danger to be called in question: and “that it was high time for his majesty to apply some remedy to such a growing disease, and to reform the understanding of those who believed that no remedy could be applied to it. That it would be fit, either by a proclamation to forbid all persons to resort to those houses, and so totally to suppress them; or to employ some spies, who, being present in the conversation, might be ready

to charge and accuse the persons who had talked with most license in a subject that would bear a complaint; upon which the proceedings might be in such a manner, as would put an end to the confidence that was only mischievous in those meetings." The king liked both the expedients, and thought that the last could not justly be made use of till the former should give fair warning; and commanded him to propose it that same day in council, that some order might be given in it.

916 The chancellor proposed it, as he was required, with such arguments as were like to move with men who knew the inconveniences which arose from those places; and the king himself mentioned it with passion, as derogatory to the government, and directed that the attorney might prepare a proclamation for the suppression of those houses, in which the board seemed to agree: when sir William Coventry, who had been heard within few days before to inveigh with much fierceness against the permission of so much seditious prattle in the impunity of those houses, stood up and said, "that coffee was a commodity that yielded the king a good revenue, and therefore it would not be just to receive the duties and inhibit the sale of it, which many men found to be very good for their health," as if it might not be bought and drank but in those licentious meetings. "That it had been permitted in Cromwell's time, and that the king's friends had used more liberty of speech in those places than they durst do in any other; and that he thought it would be better to leave them as they were, without running the hazard of ill being continued, notwithstanding his command to the contrary." And upon these reasons his majesty was converted, and declined any further debate; which put the chancellor very much out of countenance, nor knew he how to behave himself.

917 The truth is, he had a very hard province, and found his credit every day to decay with the king; whilst they

who prevailed against him used all the skill and cunning they had to make it believed, "that his power with his majesty was as great as it had ever been, and that all those things which he most opposed were acted by his advice." And whilst they procured all those for whom he had kindness, or who professed any respect towards him, to be discountenanced and undervalued, and preferred none but such who were known to have an aversion for him upon somewhat that he had, or they had been told that he had, obstructed their pretences in ; they persuaded men, "that nobody had any credit with the king to dispose of any place but he."

18 Those very men would often profess to him, "that they were so much afflicted at the king's course of life, that they even despaired that he would be able to master those difficulties which would still press him ;" and would then tell him some particulars which he himself had said or done, or had been said or done lately in his own presence, and of which he had never heard before ; which gave him occasion often to blame them, "that they, having the opportunity to see and know many things which he had no notice of or could not take any, and foresaw the consequence that did attend them, did yet forbear to use the credit they had with his majesty, in advertising him what they thought and heard all others say ;" and he offered "to go with them to his majesty, and make a lively representation to him of the great decay of his reputation with the people upon his exorbitant excesses, which God could never bless:" to all which they were not ashamed to confess, "that they never had nor durst speak to his majesty to that purpose, or in such a dialect." Indeed they were the honestest men in not doing it, for it had been gross hypocrisy to have found fault with those actions, upon the pursuing whereof they most depended ; and the reformation which they would have been glad to have seen, had no relation to those inordinate and unlaw-



ful appetites, which were the root from whence all the other mischiefs had their birth. They did not wish that the lady's authority and power should be lessened, much less extinguished; and that which would have been the most universal blessing to the whole kingdom, would have been received by them as the greatest curse that could befall them.

919 One day the chancellor and the lord Arlington were together alone, and the secretary, according to his custom, was speaking soberly of many great miscarriages by the license of the court, and how much his majesty suffered thereby; when the king suddenly came into the room to them, and after he was sat asked them what they were talking of: to which the chancellor answered, "that he would tell him honestly and truly, and was not sorry for the opportunity." And the other looking with a very troubled countenance, he proceeded and said, "that they were speaking of his majesty, and, as they did frequently, were bewailing the unhappy life he lived, both with respect to himself, who, by the excess of pleasures which he indulged to himself, was indeed without the true delight and relish of any; and in respect to his government, which he totally neglected, and of which the kingdom was so sensible, that it could not be long before he felt the ill effects of it. That the people were well prepared and well inclined to obey; but if they found that he either would not or could not command, their temper would quickly be changed, and he would find less obedience in all places than was necessary for his affairs; and that it was too evident and visible, that he had already lost very much of the affection and reverence the nation had for him."

920 He said, "that this was the subject they two were discoursing upon when his majesty entered; and that it is the argument, upon which all those of his council with whom he had any conversation did every day enlarge,

when they were together, with grief of heart, and even with tears; and that he hoped that some of them did, with that duty that became them, represent to his majesty their own sense, and the sense his good subjects had, of his condition of living, both with reference to God, who had wrought such miracles for him, and expected some proportionable return; and with reference to his people, who were in the highest discontent. He doubted all men did not discharge their duty this way; and some had confessed to him that they durst not do it, lest they might offend him, which he had assured them often that they would not do, having had so often experience himself of his goodness [in that respect]; and that he had the rather taken this opportunity to make this representation to him in the presence of another, which he had never used to do:" and concluded "with beseeching his majesty to believe that which he had often said to him, that no prince could be more miserable, nor could have more reason to fear his own ruin, than he who hath no servants who dare contradict him in his opinions, or advise him against his inclinations, how natural soever."

921 The king heard all this and more to the same effect with his usual temper, (for he was a patient hearer,) and spake sensibly, as if he thought that much that had been said was with too much reason; when the other, who wished not such an effect from the discourse, instead of seconding any thing that had been said, made use of the warmth the chancellor was in, and of some expressions he had used, to fall into raillery, which was his best faculty; with which he diverted the king from any further serious reflections; and both of them grew very merry with the other, and reproached his overmuch severity, now he grew old, and considered not the infirmities of younger men: which increased the passion he was in, and provoked him to say, "that it was observed abroad, that it was a faculty very much improved of late in the court, to laugh at

those arguments they could not answer, and which would always be requited with the same mirth amongst those who were enemies to it, and therefore it was pity that it should be so much embraced by those who pretended to be friends ;” and to use some other, too plain, expressions, which it may be were not warily enough used, and which the good lord forgot not to put the king in mind of, and to descant upon the presumption, in a season that was more ripe for such reflections, which at the present he forbore to do, and for some time after remembered only in merry occasions.

922 Though the king did not yet, nor in a good time after, appear to dislike the liberty the chancellor presumed to take with him, (who often told him, “ that he knew he made himself grievous to him, and gave his enemies too great advantages against him ; but that the conscience of having done his duty, and having never failed to inform his majesty of any thing that was fit for him to know and to believe, was the only support he had to bear the present trouble of his mind, and to prepare him for those distresses which he foresaw he was to undergo :” which his majesty heard with great goodness and condescension, and vouchsafed still to tell him, “ that it was in nobody’s power to divert his kindness from him :”) yet he found every day that some arguments grew less acceptable to him, and that the constant conversation with men of great profaneness, whose wit consisted in abusing scripture, and in repeating and acting what the preachers said in their sermons, and turning it into ridicule, (a faculty in which the duke of Buckingham excelled,) did much lessen the natural esteem and reverence he had for the clergy ; [and inclined him to consider them] as a rank of men that compounded a religion for their own advantage, and to serve their own turns. Nor was all he could say to him of weight enough to make impression to the contrary.

923 And then he seemed to think, “ that men were bolder

in the examining his actions and censuring them than they ought to be:" and once he told him, "that he thought he was [more] severe against common infirmities than he should be; and that his wife was not courteous in returning visits and civilities to those who paid her respect; and that he expected that all his friends should be very kind to those who they knew were much loved by him, and that he thought so much justice was due to him."

924 The chancellor, who had never dissembled with him, but on the contrary had always endeavoured to persuade him to believe, that dissimulation was the most dishonest and ungentlemanly quality that could be affected, answered him very roundly, "that he might seem not to understand his meaning, and so make no reply to the discourse he had made: but that he understood it all, and the meaning of every word of it; and therefore that it would not become him to suffer his majesty to depart with an opinion, that what he had said would produce any alteration in his behaviour towards him, or reformation of his manners towards any other persons.

925 "That for the first part, the liberty men took to speak of him and to censure his actions, he was of the opinion that it was a very great presumption, and a crime very fit to be punished: for let it be true or false, men had been always severely chastised for that license, because it tended to sedition. However, he put his majesty in mind of the example of Philip of Macedon, who, when one of his servants accused a person of condition to him of having spoken ill of him, and offered to go himself to the magistrate and make proof of it, answered him; that the person he accused was a man of the greatest reputation of wisdom and integrity in the kingdom, and therefore it would be fit in the first place to examine, whether himself, the king, had not done somewhat by which he had deserved to be so spoken of: indeed this way the best

men would often receive benefit from their worst enemies. For the matter itself," he said, "he need make no apology : for that it was notoriously known, that he had constantly given it in charge to all the judges, to make diligent inquiry into misdemeanours and transgressions of that magnitude, and to punish those who were guilty in the most exemplary manner ; and that he took not more pains any way, than to preserve in the hearts of the people that veneration for his person that is due to his dignity, and to persuade many who appeared afflicted with the reports they heard, that they heard more than was true ; and that the suppressing all reports of that kind was the duty of every good subject, and would contribute more towards the reforming any thing that in truth is amiss, than the propagating the scandal by spreading it in discourses could do. However, that all this, which was his duty, and but his duty, did not make it unfit for him, or any other under his obligations, in fit seasons to make a lively representation to his majesty of what is done, and how secretly soever, that cannot be justified or excused ; and of the untruths and scandals which spring from thence to his irreparable dishonour and prejudice.

- 926 "For the other part, of want of ceremony and respect to those who were loved and esteemed by his majesty, he might likewise avoid enlarging upon that subject, by putting his majesty in mind, that he had the honour to serve him in a province that excused him from making visits, and exempted him from all ceremonies of that kind. But he would not shelter himself under such a general defence, when he perceived that his majesty had in the reprehension a particular intention : and therefore he confessed ingenuously to his majesty, that he did deny himself many liberties, which in themselves might be innocent enough and agreeable to his person, because they would not be decent or agreeable to the office he held, which obliged him, for his majesty's honour, and to

preserve him from the reproach of having put a light person into a grave place, to have the more care of his own carriage and behaviour. And that, as it would reflect upon his majesty himself, if his chancellor was known or thought to be of dissolute and debauched manners, which would make him as incapable as unworthy to do him service ; so it would be a blemish and taint upon him to give any countenance, or to pay more than ordinary, cursory, and unavoidable civilities, to persons infamous for any vice, for which by the laws of God and man they ought to be odious, and to be exposed to the judgment of the church and state. And that he would not for his own sake and for his own dignity, to how low a condition soever he might be reduced, stoop to such a condescension as to have the least commerce, or to make the application of a visit, to any such person, for any benefit or advantage that it might bring to him. He did beseech his majesty not to believe that he hath a prerogative to declare vice virtue, or to qualify any person who lives in a sin and avows it, against which God himself hath pronounced damnation, for the company and conversation of innocent and worthy persons. And that whatever low obedience, which was in truth gross flattery, some people might pay to what they believed would be grateful to his majesty, they had in their hearts a perfect detestation of the persons they made address to ; and that for his part he was long resolved that his wife should not be one of those courtiers, and that he would himself much less like her company if she put herself into theirs who had not the same innocence."

927 The king was not the more pleased for the defence he made, and did not dissemble his dislike of it, without any other sharpness, than by telling him "that he was in the wrong, and had an understanding different from all other men who had experience in the world." And it is most certain, it was an avowed doctrine, and with great

address daily insinuated to the king, “that princes had many liberties which private persons have not; and that a lady of honour who dedicates herself only to please a king, and continues faithful to him, ought not to be branded with any name or mark of infamy, but hath been always looked upon by all persons well-bred as worthy of respect:” and to this purpose the history of all the amours of his grandfather were carefully presented to him, and with what indignation he suffered any disrespect towards any of his mistresses.

928 But of all these artifices the chancellor had no apprehension, out of the confidence he had in the integrity of the king's nature; and that though he might be swayed to sacrifice his present affections to his appetite, he could never be prevailed upon to entertain a real suspicion of his very passionate affection and duty to his person. That which gave him most trouble, and many times made him wish himself in any private condition separated from the court, was that unfixedness and irresolution of judgment that was natural to all his family of the male line, which often exposed them all to the importunities of bold, and to the snares of crafty, men.

929 One day the king and the duke came to the chancellor together; and the king told him with a very visible trouble in his countenance, “that they were come to confer and advise with him upon an affair of importance, which exceedingly disquieted them both. That Dick Talbot” (which was the familiar appellation, according to the ill custom of the court, that most men gave him) “had a resolution to assassinate the duke of Ormond. That he had sworn in the presence of two or three persons of honour, that he would do it in the revenge of some injuries which, he pretended, he had done his family: that he had much rather fight with him, which he knew the duke would be willing enough to do; but that he should never be able to bring to pass; and

therefore he would take his revenge in any way that should offer itself. And every body knew that the man had courage and wickedness enough to attempt any thing like it. That the duke of Ormond knew well enough that the fellow threatened it, and was like enough to act it; but that he thought it below him to apprehend it; and that his majesty came to the notice of it by the earl of Clancarty, to whom sir Robert Talbot, the elder brother of the other, told it, to the end that the earl might give the duke notice of it, and find some way to prevent it; and the earl had that day informed the king of it, as the best way he could think of to prevent it." His majesty said, "there remained no doubt to be made of the truth of it; for there were two or three more of unquestionable credit who had heard him use the same expressions: and that he had first spoken with his brother, whose servant he was, whom he found equally incensed as himself; and that they came immediately together to consult with him what was to be done."

930 The chancellor knew all the brothers well, and was believed to have too much prejudice to them all. They were all of an Irish family, but of ancient English extraction, which had always inhabited within that circle that was called the Pale; which, being originally an English plantation, was in so many hundred years for the most part degenerated into the manners of the Irish, and rose and mingled with them in the late rebellion: and of this family there were two distinct families, who had competent estates, and lived in many descents in the rank of gentlemen of quality; and those brothers were all the sons, or the grandsons, of one who was a judge in Ireland, and esteemed a learned man. The eldest was sir Robert Talbot, who was by much the best; that is, the rest were much worse men: a man, whom the duke of Ormond most esteemed of those who had been in rebellion, as one who had less malice than most of the rest, and had re-



commended to the king as a person fit for his favour. But because he did not ask all on his behalf, which he must have done for a man entirely innocent, this refusal was looked upon as the highest disobligation.

93<sup>1</sup> The second brother was a Jesuit, who had been very troublesome to the king abroad, and had behaved himself in so insolent a manner, that his majesty had forbidden him his court; after which he went into England, and applied himself to the ruling power there, and was by that sent into Spain, at the time when the treaty was at Fuentarabia between the two crowns, to procure that England might be included in that peace, and the king excluded, and not to be suffered to remain in Flanders. Of all which his majesty having advertisement, sent positive orders to sir Harry Bennet his resident then in Madrid to complain of him, and to desire don Lewis de Haro, that he might receive no countenance in that court. But the Jesuit had better and more powerful recommendation; and was not only welcome there, but (which was very strange, considering his talent of understanding) in a short time got so much interest in the resident, that he received him into all kind of familiarity and trust, and undertook to reconcile the king to him, and was as good as his word: and from the time of his majesty's return, or rather from the return of sir Harry Bennet, he was as much and as busy in the court as if he were a domestic servant. And after the queen came to Whitehall, he was admitted one of her almoners; and walked with the same or more freedom in the king's house (and in clergy habit) than any of his majesty's chaplains did; who did not presume to be seen in the galleries and other reserved rooms, where he was conversant with the same confidence as if he were of the bedchamber.

93<sup>2</sup> The third brother was Gilbert, who was [called] Colonel Talbot from some command he had with the rebels against the king. And he had likewise been with the

king in Flanders, that is, had lived in Antwerp and Brussels whilst the king was there; and being a half-witted fellow did not meddle with any thing nor angered any body, but found a way to get good clothes and to play, and was looked upon as a man of courage, having fought a duel or two with stout men.

933 The fourth brother was a Franciscan friar, of wit enough, but of so notorious debauchery, that he was frequently under severe discipline by the superiors of his order for his scandalous life, which made him hate his habit, and take all opportunities to make journeys into England and Ireland: but not being able to live there, he was forced to return and put on his abhorred habit, which he always called his "fool's coat," and came seldom into those places where he was known, and so wandered into Germany and Flanders, and took all opportunities to be in the places where the king was; and so he came to Cologne and Brussels and Bruges, and being a merry fellow, was the more made of for laughing at and contemning his brother the Jesuit, who had not so good natural parts, though by his education he had more sobriety, and lived without scandal in his manners. He went by the name of Tom Talbot, and after the king's return was in London in his man's clothes, (as he called them,) with the natural license of an Irish friar, (which are a people, for the most part, of the whole creation the most sottish and the most brutal,) and against his obedience, and all orders of his superiors, who interdicted him to say mass.

934 The fifth brother was this Dick Talbot, who gave the king and the duke the trouble mentioned before. He was brought into Flanders first by Daniel O'Neile, as one who was willing to assassinate Cromwell; and he made a journey into England with that resolution not long before his death, and after it returned into Flanders ready to do all that he should be required. He was a very handsome young man, wore good clothes, and without

doubt of a clear, ready courage, which was virtue enough to recommend a man to the duke's good opinion; which, with more expedition than could be expected, he got to that degree, that he was made of his bedchamber; and, from that qualification, embarked himself after the king's return in the pretences of the Irish, with such an unusual confidence, and upon private contracts with very scandalous circumstances, that the chancellor had sometimes at the council-table been obliged to give him severe reprehensions, and often desired the duke to withdraw his countenance from him. He had likewise declared very loudly against the Jesuit, and, though he had made many addresses unto him by letters and by some friends who had credit with him, would never, from the time of the king's return, be persuaded to speak with him, and had once prevailed with the king so far, that he was forbid to come to the court; but he had a friend, who after some time got that restraint off again. The chancellor had likewise observed the friar to be too frequently in the galleries, and sometimes drunk there, and caused him to be forbid to come into the court: and the eldest brother, towards whom he had rather kindness than prejudice, finding many obstructions in his pretences, was persuaded to think him not his friend. And so he got the reproach of being an enemy to the whole family.

935 This consideration did really affect the chancellor, so that he appeared more reserved and more wary in this particular proposed by the king and by the duke, than he used to be. He said, "that in many respects he was not so fit to advise in this particular as other men were. Though this man's behaviour was so scandalous that it deserved exemplary punishment, yet he did not conceive any present danger from it: that he would deny it and repent it, and give any other satisfaction that would be required or assigned; and then his majesty and the

duke would be prevailed with to take off their displeasure. And therefore [it would be better] not to make such a matter public, which, considering the person and the circumstances, would make a deep impression upon the minds of all wise men; than, after the world takes notice of it, to pass it over with a light and ordinary punishment." The king interrupted him as he was going on, and told him, "there was no danger of that, and that he would deal freely with him. That as the offence was in itself unpardonable, so he and his brother were resolved to take this opportunity and occasoin to free themselves from the importunity of the whole family: that all the brothers were naughty fellows, and had no good meaning." And thereupon his majesty enlarged with much sharpness upon the Jesuit and friar, with charges upon both very weighty and unanswerable; and the duke upon this man who was the subject of the debate: and both concluded, "that they should be in great ease by the absence of all of them, which should be enjoined as soon as a resolution should be taken in this particular."

936 The chancellor knew that there was somewhat else, which was not so fit to be mentioned, that had offended them both as much; and thought he had reason to believe that they would be both resolute in the punishment, and that they had deliberated it too long to depart from the prosecution. He therefore advised, "that the gentleman should be presently apprehended and examined upon the words, which some witness should be ready to affirm: and that thereupon he should be sent to the Tower, and the next day that his majesty should inform the privy-council of the whole, which without question would give direction to his attorney general to prosecute this foul misdemeanour in such a manner, that should put this gentleman in such a condition, that he should not trouble the court with his attendance; and other men should by

his example find, that their tongues are not their own, to be employed according to their own malicious pleasures.”

937 The person was the same night sent to the Tower; and both the king and the duke declared themselves, in the presence of their servants and many others, to be as highly offended, and as positively resolved to take as much vengeance upon the impudent presumption of the offender as the rigour of the law would inflict, as [ever] they had done upon any occurrence and accident in their lives: and if they had had persons enough about them, who out of a just sense of their honour would have confirmed them in the judgment they were of, it would have been in nobody's power to have shaken them. But as from the first day of his commitment, the servants near the person both of the king and duke presumed, against all ancient order, (which made it a crime in any to perform those civilities to persons declared to be under his majesty's displeasure,) to visit Mr. Talbot, and to censure those who had advised his commitment; [so] after some few days, when they thought the duke's passion in some degree abated, the lord Berkley confidently told the duke, “that he suffered much in the opinion of the world, in permitting a servant of so near relation to his person to be committed to prison for a few hasty and unadvised words to which he had been provoked; and that it was well enough known that it was by the contrivement and advice of the chancellor, who was taken notice of to be an enemy to that whole family, nor any great friend to any of his highness's servants; and if he had that credit to remove any of them from his person, there would in a short time be few of them found in his court.”

938 This was seconded by all the standers by; and though it did not suddenly work its effect, yet the continual pressing it by degrees weakened the resolution: and the same offices being with equal importunity performed to-

wards the king, and with the more zeal after it was published that the whole was done by the chancellor's procurement; both his majesty and his highness grew weary of their severity, and, upon conference together, resolved to interpose with the duke for his remission, who disdained to make himself a prosecutor in such a transgression. And so the prisoner returned to Whitehall, with the advantage which men who have been unjustly imprisoned usually receive: and all men thought he triumphed over the chancellor, who, how unconcerned soever, knew every day the less how to behave himself. And this unhappy constitution grew so notorious, (for there were too many instances of it,) that all men grew less resolute in matters which concerned the king and drew the displeasure of others upon them, which was like to prove unprofitable to them.

939 According to their last prorogation the parliament convened again upon the one and twentieth of September; when the king told them, "that he was very glad to meet so many of them together again, and thanked God for their meeting together again in that place." He said, "little time had passed since they were almost in despair of having that place left to meet in. They saw the dismal ruins the fire had made; and nothing but a miracle of God's mercy could have preserved what was left from the same destruction."

940 His majesty told them, "he need make no excuse to them for having dispensed with their attendance in April; he was confident they all thanked him for it: the truth is, he desired to put them to as little trouble as he could; and he could tell them truly, he desired to put them to as little cost as was possible. He wished with all his heart that he could bear the whole charge of the war himself, and that his subjects should reap the whole benefit of it to themselves. But he had two great and powerful enemies, who used all the ways they could, fair

and foul, to make all the world to concur with them; and the war was more chargeable by that conjunction, than any body thought it would have been. He needed not tell them the success of the summer, in which God had given them great success; and no question the enemy had undergone great losses; and if it had pleased God to have withheld his late judgment by fire, he had been in no ill condition." His majesty confessed, "that they had given him very large supplies for the carrying on the war: and yet," he told them, "that if he had not, by anticipating his own revenue, raised a very great sum of money, he had not been able to have set out the fleet the last spring; and he had some hope upon the same credit to be able to pay off the great ships as they should come in. They would consider what was to be done next, when they were well informed of the expense: and he would leave it to their wisdoms, to find out the best expedients for the carrying on the war with as little burden to the people as was possible." He said, "he would add no more than to put them in mind, that their enemies were very insolent; and if they were able the last year to persuade their miserable people whom they misled, that the contagion had so wasted the nation, and impoverished the king, that he would not be able to set out any fleet; how would they be exalted with this last impoverishment of the city, and condemn all reasonable conditions of peace? And therefore he could not doubt but that they would provide accordingly."

941 Indeed the king did not till now understand the damage he had sustained by the plague, much less what he must sustain from the fire. Monies could neither be collected nor borrowed where the plague had prevailed, which was over all the city and over a great part of the country; the collectors durst not go to require it or receive it. Yet the fountains remained yet clear, and the waters would run again: but this late conflagration had

dried up or so stopped the very fountains, that there was no prospect when they would flow again. The two great branches of the revenue, the customs and excise, which was the great and almost inexhaustible security to borrow money upon, were now bankrupt, and would neither bring in money nor supply credit: all the measures by which computations had been made were so broken, that they could not be brought to meet again. By a medium of the constant receipts it had been depended upon, that what had been borrowed upon that fund would by this time have been fully satisfied with all the interest, whereby the money would have been replaced in the hands to which it was due, which would have been glad to have laid it out again; and the security [would have] remained still in vigour to be applied to any other urgent occasions: but now the plague had routed all those receipts, especially in London, where the great conduits of those receipts still ran. The plague and the war had so totally broken and distracted those receipts, that the farmers of either had not received enough to discharge the constant burden of the officers, and were so far from paying any part of the principal that was secured upon it, that it left the interest unpaid to swell the principal. And now this deluge by fire had dissipated the persons, and destroyed the houses, which were liable to the reimbursement of all arrears; and the very stocks were consumed which should carry on and revive the trade. And the third next considerable branch of the revenue, the chimney-money, was determined; and the city must be rebuilt before any body could be required to pay for his chimneys.

94<sup>2</sup> This was the true state of the crown, if all other inconveniences and casual expenses had been away, and all application to things serious had been made by all persons concerned. And this woful prospect was in view when the parliament met again; which came not toge-



ther with the better countenance by seeing all hopes abroad with so sad an aspect, and all things at home (that troubled them much more) appear so desperate in many respects. Yet within few days after the king had spoken to them, the house of commons being most filled with the king's servants, the gentlemen of the country being not yet come, there was a faint vote procured, "that they would give a supply to the king proportionable to his wants," without mentioning any sum, or which way it should be raised: nor from that minute did they make the least reflection upon that engagement in many months after. Whilst the enemies, much more exalted than ever, believed, as they had good cause, that they should reap a much greater benefit by the burning of London than they had from the contagion.

943 When the numbers of the members increased, the parliament appeared much more chagrined than it had hitherto done; and though they made the same professions of affection and duty to the king they had ever done, they did not conceal the very ill opinion they had of the court and the continual riotings there: and the very idle discourses of some (who were much countenanced) upon the miserable event of the fire made them even believe, that the former jealousies of the city, when they saw their houses burning at such a distance from each other, were not without some foundation, nor without just apprehension of a conspiracy, and that it had not been diligently enough examined; and therefore they appointed a committee, with large authority to send for and examine all persons who could give any information concerning it.

944 When any mention was made of the declaration they had so lately passed, for giving the king supply, and "that it was high time to despatch it, that all necessary provisions might be made for the setting out a fleet against the spring;" it was answered with passion, "that the king's wants must be made first to appear before any

supply must be discoursed of: that there were already such vast sums of money given to the king, that there was none left in the country; nor could any commodities there, upon which they should raise wherewith to pay their taxes, be sold for want of money, which was all brought to London in specie, and none left to carry on the commerce and trade in the country, where they could not sell their corn or their cattle or their wool for half the value."

945 They who had not sat in the parliament at Oxford were exceedingly vexed that there had been so much given there so soon after the two millions and a half had been granted; and said, "if the king wanted again already, that he must have been abominably cheated, which was fit to be examined. That the number of the ships, which had been set out by the king in several fleets since the beginning of this war, was no secret; and that there are men enough who are acquainted with the charge of setting out and manning and victualling ships, and can make thereby a reasonable computation what this vast expense can amount to: and that they cannot but conclude, that if his majesty hath been honestly dealt with, there must remain still a very great proportion of money to carry on the war, without need of imposing more upon the people, till they are better able to bear it. And therefore that it was absolutely necessary, that all those, through whose hands the money had passed, should first give an exact account of what they had received, and what and how they had disbursed it: and when that should appear, it would be seasonable to demand an addition of supply, which would be cheerfully granted."

946 And for the better expedition of this (for every body confessed that the time pressed) it was proposed, "that forthwith a bill should be prepared, which should pass into an act of parliament, in which such commissioners should be appointed as the houses should think fit, to examine all

accounts of those who had received or issued out any monies for this war; and where they found any persons faulty, and who had broken their trust, they should be liable to such punishment as the parliament should think fit:" and a committee was presently named to prepare such a bill accordingly. This proposition found such a concurrence in the house, that none of the court thought fit to oppose it; and others who knew the method to be new, and liable to just exceptions, thought it to as little purpose to endeavour to divert it: and so all motions for present supply were to be laid aside till a more favourable conjuncture; and the overture had been contrived and put on by many who seemed not to like it, which is an artifice not unusual in courts or parliaments.

- 947 The persons, who were principally aimed at, (for no doubt they believed that others would be comprehended,) were sir George Carteret, the treasurer of the navy, through whom all that expense had passed, who had many enemies upon the opinion that his office was too great, and the more by the ill offices sir William Coventry was always ready to do him; and the lord Ashley, who was treasurer of all the money that had been raised upon prizes, which could not but be a great proportion. The former was a punctual officer and a good accountant, and had already passed his account in the exchequer for two years, upon which he had his "quietus est;" which was the only lawful way known and practised by all accountants to the crown, who can receive a good discharge no other way: and he was ready to make another year's account. But what method commissioners extraordinary by act of parliament would put it into, he could not imagine, nor be well satisfied with. The other, the lord Ashley, had more reason to be troubled, for he was by his commission exempted from giving any other account but to the king himself, which exemption was the only reason that made him so solicitous for the office; and he well

knew that there were great sums issued, which could not be put into any public account : so that his perplexity in several respects was not small. And they both applied themselves to the king for his protection in the point.

948 His majesty was no less troubled, [knowing] that both had issued out many sums upon his warrants, which he would not suffer to be produced ; and called that committee of the privy-council with which he used to advise, and complained of this unusual way of proceeding in the house of commons, which would terrify all men from serving his majesty in any receipts ; to which employment men submitted because they knew what they were to do and what they were to suffer. If they made their account according to the known rules of the exchequer, their discharge could not be denied ; and if they failed, they knew what process would be awarded against them. But to account by such orders as the parliament should prescribe, and to be liable to such punishment as the parliament would inflict, was such an uncertainty as would deprive them of all rest and quiet of mind ; and was in itself so unjust, that his majesty declared “ that he would never suffer it : that he hoped it would never find a consent in the house of commons ; if it should, that the house of peers would reject it ; but if it should be brought to him, he was resolved never to give his royal assent.” There was no man present, who did not seem fully to concur with his majesty that he should never consent to it ; “ however, that the best care and diligence should be used, that it might never be presented to him, but stopped in the houses ; and to that purpose, that the members should be prepared by giving them notice of his pleasure.”

949 The chancellor upon this argument, in which he discerned no opposition, enlarged himself upon what he had often before put his majesty in mind of ; “ that he could not be too indulgent in the defence of the privileges of parliament ; that he hoped he would never violate any of

them :” but he desired him “to be equally solicitous to prevent the excesses in parliament, and not to suffer them to extend their jurisdiction to cases they have nothing to do with ; and that to restrain them within their proper bounds and limits is as necessary, as it is to preserve them from being invaded. That this was such a new encroachment as had no bottom ; and the scars were yet too fresh and green of those wounds which had been inflicted upon the kingdom from such usurpation.” And therefore he desired his majesty “to be firm in the resolution he had taken, and not to depart from it ; and if such a bill should be brought up to the house of peers, he would not fail in doing his duty, and speaking freely his opinion against such innovations, how many soever it might offend.” All which discourse of his was in a short time after communicated to those, who would not fail to make use of it to his disadvantage.

950 There was a correspondence by this time begun and warmly pursued between some discontented members of the house of peers, who thought their parts not enough valued, (and the duke of Buckingham was in the head of them,) and some members of the house of commons, who made themselves remarkable by opposing all things which were proposed in that house for the king’s service, or which were like to be grateful to him, as sir Richard Temple, Mr. Seymour, and Mr. Garraway, and sir Robert Howard ; who were all bold speakers, and meant to make themselves considerable by saying, upon all occasions, what wiser men would [not], whatever they thought.

951 The duke [of Buckingham] took more pains than was agreeable to his constitution to get an interest in all such persons, invited them to his table, pretended to have a great esteem of their parts, asked counsel of them, lamented the king’s neglecting his business, and committing it to other people who were not fit for it ; and then reported all the license and debauchery of the court in

the most lively colours, being himself a frequent eye and earwitness of it. He had a mortal quarrel with the lady; and was at this time so much in the king's displeasure, (as he was very frequently,) that he forbore going to the court, and revenged himself upon it by all the merry tales he could tell of what was done there.

952 It cannot be imagined, considering the loose life he led (which was a life more by night than by day) in all the liberties that nature could desire or wit invent, how great an interest he had in both houses of parliament; that is, how many in both would follow his advice, and concur in what he proposed. His quality and condescensions, the pleasantness of his humour and conversation, the extravagance and sharpness of his wit, unrestrained by any modesty or religion, drew persons of all affections and inclinations to like his company; and to believe that the levities and the vanities would be wrought off by age, and there would enough of good be left to become a great man, and make him useful to his country, for which he pretended to have a wonderful affection and reverence; and that all his displeasure against the court proceeded from their declared malignity against the liberty of the subject, and their desire that the king should govern by the example of France. He had always held intelligence with the principal persons of the levelling party, and professed to desire that liberty of conscience might be granted to all; and exercised his wit with most license against the church, the law, and the court.

953 The king had constant intelligence of all his behaviour, and the liberty he took in his discourses of him, for which he had indignation enough: but of this new stratagem to make himself great in parliament, and to have a faction there to disturb his business, his majesty had no apprehension, believing it impossible for the duke to keep his mind long bent upon any particular design, or to keep and observe those hours and orders of sleeping and eating, as

men who pretend to business are obliged to ; and that it was more impossible, for him to make and preserve a friendship with any serious persons, whom he could never restrain himself from abusing and making ridiculous, as soon as he was out of their company. Yet, with all these infirmities and vices, he found a respect and concurrence from men of different tempers and talents, and had an incredible opinion with the people.

- 954 The great object of his dislike, displeasure, and hatred, was the duke of Ormond, who being his equal in title, and superior in credit with the king, and at least equal to him in all other respects, he looked upon him as his rival ; and that his constant attendance upon the king through all his fortunes was a reproach to him for not having performed his duty that way, and gave him a general reputation in the kingdom with all men who had been faithful to the crown. The duke of Ormond's younger son had married his niece, who was the heir apparent of his house ; to which, though he had given his consent when he saw it was not in his power to contradict it, yet he pretended that the duke had made many promises of friendship to him which he had not made good ; whereas in truth the other did really desire, and had heartily endeavoured, to do him all the good offices he could with the king, which some other new extravagance of his own disappointed and made uneffectual. Let the ground and reason be what they will, he did not dissemble to hate the duke of Ormond heartily, and to be willing to undertake the prosecution of any complaint against him ; of which, in that distempered and disjointed condition of Ireland, there could not be [occasion] wanting, as soon as it was known that such a patron was ready to undertake their defence. And it cannot be denied, (the spirit of envy is so powerful,) that there were too many, who had no affection for the duke of Buckingham, who were yet willing that any thing should be done to the prejudice of the duke of

Ormond, who they thought eclipsed the nobility of England.

955 There had been for many months a great murmur, rather than complaint, “of the great damage the kingdom in general sustained by the importation of such great quantities of Irish cattle, which were bred there for nothing, and transported for little, that they might well undersell all the cattle here; and from hence the breed of cattle in the kingdom was totally given over, and thereby the land would yield no rent proportionably to what it had ever done: and that this was a principal cause of the want of money in the country, which could only be remedied by a very strict act of parliament, to forbid the importation of any sort of cattle out of Ireland into this kingdom.” And some of them who had most thought of the matter had prepared a bill, and brought it into the house of commons, where it was read. At first it underwent very calm and reasonable debates. Very many members of several counties desired, “that their counties might not undergo any damage for the benefit of other individual places.” They professed “that their counties had no land bad enough to breed: but that their great traffick consisted in buying lean cattle, and making them fat, and upon this they paid their rent; and if the bringing over Irish cattle should be restrained, their counties must be undone.” And this appeared to be the case of very many counties in England. And the complaint was of so new a nature, that it had never been heard of in England till some few months before this meeting in parliament; only it had been mentioned in the parliament at Oxford, as a grievance to the northern counties, which complained no less of the Scots than of the Irish cattle; and the bill that was at this time brought into the house of commons provided as well against the one as the other.

956 Whether this complaint originally proceeded from the



damage which the people of some counties sustained, or thought they sustained, which made their members in parliament press the restraint with much earnestness, (and it cannot be denied that many worthy men were passionate in it, who were not like to be engaged in particular and factious contests, to comply with the humours of other men,) is not easy to other men to judge of than those who sat in the houses, and observed the manner and the passion in which those debates were carried. And it cannot be denied but that, how innocently soever the grievance first came to be mentioned, and to be recommended to the consideration and wisdom of the house, the carrying it on was with unusual heat and passion, different from what appeared in the transaction of any other business, that had an aspect only to the public: and it was observed, that the cabal that is mentioned before, between some of the house of peers and of the house of commons, began at this time to meet more frequently, and were united in the driving on this affair; which suddenly grew to be insisted on as of that importance, that there could be no debate begun with reference to the giving money to the king, till this bill were first passed.

- 957 In the mean time the council of Ireland had the alarm of what was intended before the parliament, and did not only write to the king himself, but a large letter to the lords of the privy-council, in which they represented the present distracted condition of that kingdom, “that there were more than one hundred thousand persons who had nothing else to live upon but their droves of cattle; out of which they twice a year sent as many as they could spare into England, which enabled them to pay their rents, and return such goods and merchandise from thence as the kingdom [stood] in need of;” for no money in specie was returned upon that commerce. “That if this liberty of trade, which they had enjoyed in all ages, should

be taken from them, the king's army could not be supported, nor the government maintained, but the kingdom must necessarily be ruined; and probably a new rebellion, in so general a discontent as this restraint would administer, might be again entered into: and therefore they desired, that at least some years might be allowed to that traffick which had been always enjoyed; to the end that some other husbandry might be introduced into the kingdom, by which the people might live, and which the government would endeavour to plant with all possible diligence and encouragement."

958 The king himself was so much moved with those letters, that he declared, "that he could neither in justice nor in conscience consent to such a bill, which upon pretence of benefit to one of his kingdoms might and must be so mischievous to the other two," (for Scotland, as is said, was yet comprehended as well as Ireland:) "that he was equally king of all, and obliged to have an equal care of all; and never to consent to any thing that might be prejudicial to either of the other, especially if the benefit to the one were not proportionable to, and as evident as, the damage was to the other." And upon these grounds he recommended to them, "to give such a stop to this bill, that it might never be presented to him; for if it were, he must positively reject it:" and without doubt his majesty at that time did not resolve any thing more within himself, than never to give his royal assent to that bill.

959 The letters from Ireland did not make the same impressions upon the lords of the council, who were very much divided in their opinions, even they whose zeal for the king's service was most unquestionable. Some were, upon the sole consideration of the injustice of it, and the mischief that it would produce in Ireland, positively against ever consenting to it, and as positive that it might be stopped in the house of commons, or thrown out of the lords' house, that it should never come to the king: others

did as much believe that it was a real grievance, in which the subject should have relief; and insisted much, “that in a point evidently for the benefit and advantage of England, Ireland ought not to be put into the scale, because it would be some inconvenience there.” Some did in truth think that the king was too much inclined to favour the Irish, and in that respect were well content that this bill should be a mortification to them: and there wanted not others, who in dark expressions (which grew clearer when the matter came into the house of peers) seemed to think, “that the estates in Ireland were more valuable than they were in England; and that some noblemen of that kingdom lived in a higher garb, and made greater expenses, than the noblemen in England were able to do; which had not been in former times.” But they never considered, that those noblemen had nothing but what descended to them from their ancestors; and that they had faithfully adhered to the king, and undergone as much damage for doing so, as any men had done.

960 The house of commons seemed much more morose and obstinate than it had formerly appeared to be, and solicitous to grasp as much power and authority as any of their predecessors had done, though no doubt with no ill intention: [and] it may be this would not have so much appeared, if there had been the same vigour in those who had used to conduct the king’s business in that house as there had used to be. But that spirit was much fallen. The chief men of the court, upon whose example other men looked, were much more humble than they had used to be, and took more pains to ingratiate themselves than to advance the interest of their master: and instead of pressing what was desirable upon the strength of reason and policy, as they had used to do, and by which the major part of the house had usually concurred with them, they now applied themselves with address to those who had always frowardly opposed whatsoever they thought

would be grateful to the king; and desired rather to buy their votes and concurrence by promises of reward and preferment, (which is the most dishonourable and unthrifty brokery that can be practised in a parliament, which from this time was much practised, and brought many ill things to pass,) than to prevail upon those weighty and important arguments which would bear the light. Which low artifice raised the insolence of those, which would, as easily as it had been, have been still overruled and suppressed; and was quickly discerned by those others, who, upon the principles of honour and wisdom, had hitherto swayed the house in all matters of public concernment, and who now concluded by those new condescensions that the former sober spirit and resolution was laid aside, and that peevish men would be compounded with; and so resolved to sit still or look on, till the success of this stratagem might be discerned.

961 And by this means the bill for Irish cattle was driven on with more fury, and the other concerning accounts more passionately spoken of; whilst every day not only many of those, who had constantly observed the advice that had been given them on the behalf of the king, fell off to the other party, but many of his household servants concurred in the bill for Ireland; whilst the rest, who did not yet think fit to do so, applied themselves to the king for his leave that they might do the same. And sir William Coventry, who had now by his insinuations and communication made himself very grateful to the refractory party, persuaded the king, "that the house had taken the Irish bill so much to heart, that they would never enter upon the debate of money, till that had passed the house and was sent to the lords, who no doubt, upon the knowledge of his majesty's mind and resolution, would easily throw it out. That if his servants continued obstinate in opposing it below, they should but provoke and anger the house, and render themselves useless to other

parts of his majesty's more important business: whereas if they did now gratify the house by concurring with them in this matter, they should make themselves acceptable, have credit enough to divert the bill of accounts, and presently to dispose every body to enter upon the matter of supply.

962 The king was not pleased with the counsel, but had a very good opinion of the counsellor, who he believed could not but judge aright of the temper of those with whom he had sat and conversed so long: and so his majesty told him, "he was contented he should follow the dictates of his own judgment and conscience;" and the same answer he gave to all such members of the house of commons who came to receive his orders. And after all this, the bill was carried with great difficulty, and long opposition given to it by those members of several counties, which professed, "that the bringing over the Irish cattle was so much for their benefit, that they could not live well without it," and were exceedingly perplexed that it should pass; which yet they hoped would be prevented in the house of peers: and so the bill was in great triumph, and by all the members, (as in cases they much delight in is usual,) presented to the house of peers.

963 And the commons no sooner repaired to their own house, than they assumed the debate upon the accounts, with the same fervour they had pursued the other bill of Ireland, and with the same declaration, "that they would not enter upon the subject of money, till they saw what success that bill would likewise have;" and appearing every day more out of humour, expressed less reverence towards the court. And some expressions were frequently used, which seemed to glance at the license and disorders and extravagant expense of that place, not without some reflections which aimed at the lady, and at the exorbitant power exercised by her. And this imperious way of proceeding confirmed those in their wariness, who had no

mind to oppose or contradict the party that they would and meant should prevail : but they the more endeavoured to render themselves gracious to the leaders, as being willing to administer fuel to the fire the others intended to kindle ; and, so they might preserve themselves, were very willing to expose other ministers to the jealousy of them, who they thought would not be quiet without some sacrifice. And thus they alarmed the king with the new apprehensions, “ that the house, which had yet dutiful intentions, if they were crossed in what they designed for his service, might be provoked to be bolder with his majesty than they had been yet, and to mention the prevalence of the lady,” which every body knew the duke of Buckingham would have been glad to have contributed to. And with these continued representations, but especially with their old argument of casting it out by the house of peers, where his power could not be doubted, they at last prevailed with the king to leave all men to themselves in the business of the accounts, (where there was a greater concurrence,) as he had done in the Irish bill : and so that bill likewise was transmitted to the lords.

964 And at this time many wise men thought that it would have been very happy for the king if he would have dissolved the parliament, and presently after called another ; which would have discovered many combinations, when the actors had found themselves excluded from entering again upon the stage ; and it would have appeared, that all the storms had been raised by those winds which had their birth in the king's own house. And such a dissolution (to which the king himself was enough inclined) would have been very popular throughout the kingdom, which naturally doth not love long parliaments, and exceedingly detested this for having only given away their money, and raised a war of which they saw no end nor possible benefit, without passing any good laws for the

advancement of the peace and happiness of the kingdom. And very few of those, who had gotten credit in the house to obstruct what the king desired, were men of any interest or reputation with the people.

965 But as nobody was forward publicly to own and avow this counsel, the consequence whereof they knew if it were not consented to; so they who meant to do themselves more good by the present indisposition and distemper than they could propose from a new convention of men utterly unknown, and who were like enough to bring prejudice against their own particulars, used all the means they could devise to divert the king from that inclination. They told him, “that he would never have such another parliament, where he had near one hundred members of his own menial servants and their near relations, who were all at his disposal; by which they had incurred so much prejudice in the country, that very few of them would ever be elected again. That the present distemper was contracted by accidents and mistakes, and would vanish upon very reasonable condescensions, and in another prorogation: whereas if it should be dissolved and new writs sent out, the people would return none but presbyterians and known enemies to the church, and such who were most notoriously disaffected to the court.” And this argument, pressed by men who had no more affection for the church than the Quakers had, prevailed with most of the bishops to dissuade the king from hearkening to any such advice; when they had much more reason to expect a stronger party in a new parliament, and might have observed that their friends fell from them every day in both houses, and that the court was not propitious to them, of which they had afterwards a sad experience, and which they might then have well foreseen.

966 The house of peers was no sooner possessed of the bill against Irish cattle, but it was read, and a marvellous keen resolution appeared in many to use all expedition in

the passing it; though if the matter itself had been without exception, there were so many clauses and provisos in it so derogatory to the king's honour and prerogative, that many thought it a high disrespect to his majesty to admit them into debate. But of these anon. The duke of Buckingham appeared in the head of those who favoured the bill, with a marvellous concernment: and at the times appointed for the debate of it, contrary to his custom of coming into the house, indeed of not rising till eleven of the clock, and seldom staying above a quarter of an hour, except upon some affair which he concerned himself in, he was now always present with the first in a morning, and stayed till the last at night; for the debate often held from the morning till four of the clock in the afternoon, and sometimes till candles were brought in.

967 And it grew quickly evident, that there were other reasons which caused so earnest a prosecution of it, above the encouragement of the breed of cattle in England: insomuch as the lord Ashley, who next the duke of Buckingham appeared the most violent supporter of the bill, could not forbear to urge it as an argument for the prosecuting it, "that if this bill did not pass, all the rents in Ireland would rise in a vast proportion, and those in England fall as much; so that in a year or two the duke of Ormond would have a greater revenue than the earl of Northumberland;" which made a visible impression in many, as a thing not to be endured. Whereas the duke had indeed at least four times the proportion of land in Ireland that descended to him from his ancestors, that the earl had in England; and the revenue of it before the rebellion was not inferior to the other's. But nothing was more manifest, than that the warmth of that prosecution in the house of peers in many lords did proceed from the envy they had of the duke's station in one kingdom, and of his fortune in the other.

968 And the whole debate upon the bill was so disorderly



and unparliamentary, that the like had never been known: no rules or orders of the house for the course and method of debate were observed. And there being, amongst those who advanced the bill, fewer speakers than there were of those who were against it, those few took upon them to speak oftener than they ought to do, and to reply to every man who declared himself to be of another opinion: and when they were put in mind of the rule of the house, “that no man should speak above once upon the same question,” they called presently to have the house resolved into a committee, which any single member may require, and then every man may speak as often as he please; and so the time was spent unprofitably without the business being advanced. In the mean time the house of commons proceeded as irregularly, in sending frequent messages to hasten the despatch of the bill, when they knew well the debate of every day: and it was frequently urged as an argument, “that the house of commons was the fittest judge of the necessities and grievances of the people; and they having passed this bill, the lords ought to conform to their opinion.” In fine, there grew so great a license of words in this debate, and so many personal reflections, that every day some quarrels arose, to the great scandal and dishonour of a court that was the supreme judicatory of the kingdom.

969 The duke of Buckingham, who assumed a liberty of speaking when and what he would in a dialect unusual and ungrave, his similes and other expressions giving occasion of much mirth and laughter, one day said in the debate, “that whoever was against that bill had either an Irish interest or an Irish understanding:” which so much offended the lord Ossory, who was eldest son to the duke of Ormond, (who had very narrowly escaped the censure of the house lately, for reproaching the lord Ashley with having been a counsellor to Cromwell, and would not therefore trust himself with giving a present answer,)

but meeting him afterwards in the court, [he] desired the duke “that he would walk into the next room with him;” and there told him, “that he had taken the liberty to use many loose and unworthy expressions which reflected upon the whole Irish nation, and which he himself resented so much that he expected satisfaction, and to find him with his sword in his hand;” which the duke endeavoured to avoid by all the fair words and shifts he could use, but was so far pressed by the other, whose courage was never doubted, that he could not avoid appointing a place where they would presently meet, which he found the other would exact to prevent discovery, and therefore had chosen rather to urge it himself than to send a message to him. And so he named a known place in Chelsea Fields, and to be there within less than an hour.

970     The lord Ossory made haste thither, and expected him much beyond the time; and then seeing some persons come out of the way towards the place where he was, [and concluding] they were sent out to prevent any action between them, he avoided speaking with them, but got to the place where his horse was, and so retired to London. The duke was found by himself in another place on the other side of the water, which was never known by the name of Chelsea Fields, which he said was the place he had appointed to meet.

971     Finding that night that the lord Ossory was not in custody, and so he was sure he should quickly hear from him, and upon conference with his friends, that the mistake of the place would be imputed to him; he took a strange resolution, that every body wondered at, and his friends dissuaded him from. And the next morning, as soon as the house was sat, the lord Ossory being likewise present that he might find some opportunity to speak with him, the duke told the house, “that he must inform them of somewhat that concerned himself; and being

sure that it would come to their notice some other way, he had therefore chose to acquaint them with it himself;" and thereupon related "how the lord Ossory had the day before found him in the court, and desired him to walk into the next room, where he charged him with many particulars which he had spoken in that place, and in few words told him he should fight with him; which though he did not hold himself obliged to do in maintenance of any thing he had said or done in the parliament, yet that it being suitable and agreeable to his nature, to fight with any man who had a mind to fight with him," (upon which he enlarged with a little vanity, as if duelling were his daily exercise and inclination,) "he appointed the place in Chelsea Fields, which he understood to be the fields over against Chelsea; whither, having only gone to his lodging to change his sword, he hastened, by presently crossing the water in a pair of oars, and stayed there in expectation of the lord Ossory, until such gentlemen," whom he named, "found him there, and said, they were sent to prevent his and the lord Ossory's meeting, whom others were likewise sent to find for the same prevention. Whereupon, concluding that for the present there would be no meeting together, he returned with those gentlemen to his lodging, being always ready to give any gentleman satisfaction that should require it of him."

- 972 Every body was exceedingly surprised with the oddness and unseasonableness of the discourse, which consisted, with some confusion, between aggravating the presumption of the lord Ossory, and making the offence as heinous as the violating all the privileges of parliament could amount unto; and magnifying his own courage and readiness to fight upon any opportunity, when it was clear enough that he had declined it by a gross shift: and it was wondered at, that he had not chosen rather that some other person might inform the house of a quarrel between two members, that it might be examined and the mischief

prevented. But he believed that way would not so well represent and manifest the lustre of his courage, and might leave him under an examination that would not be so advantageous to him as his own information: and therefore no persuasion and importunity of his friends could prevail with him to decline that method.

973 The lord Ossory seemed out of countenance, and troubled that the contest was like to be only in that place, and cared not to deny any thing that the duke had accused him of; only “wondered, that he should say he had challenged him for words spoken in the house, when he had expressly declared to him, when his grace insisted much upon the privilege of parliament to decline giving him any satisfaction, that he did not question him for any words spoken in parliament, but for words spoken in other places, and for affronts, which he had at other times chosen to bear rather than to disturb the company.” He confessed, “he had attended in the very place where the duke had done him the honour to promise to meet him;” and mentioned some expressions which he had used in designing it, which left the certainty of it not to be doubted.

974 When they had both said as much as they had a mind to, they were both required, as is the custom, to withdraw to several rooms near the house: and then the lords entered upon debate of the transgression; many insisting “upon the magnitude of the offence, which concerned the honour and safety of the highest tribunal in the kingdom, and the liberty and security of every member of the house, That if in any debate any lord exceeded the modest limits prescribed, in any offensive expressions, the house had the power and the practice to restrain and reprehend and imprison the person, according to the quality and degree of the offence; and that no other remedy or examination could be applied to it, even by the king himself. But if it should be in any private man to take exceptions against any words which the house finds no fault with,

and to require men to justify with their swords all that they say in discharge of their conscience, and for the good and benefit of their country; there is an end of the privilege of parliament and the freedom of speech: and therefore that there could not be too great a punishment inflicted upon this notorious and monstrous offence of the lord Ossory, which concerned every lord in particular, as much as it did the duke of Buckingham; who had carried himself as well as the ill custom and iniquity of the age would admit, and had given no offence to the house, towards which he had always paid all possible respect and reverence."

975 They who considered the honour and dignity only of the house, and the ill consequence of such violations as these, which way soever their affections were inclined with reference to their persons, were all of opinion, "that their offences were so near equal that their punishment ought to be equal: for that besides the lord Ossory's denial that he had [made] any reflection upon any words spoken in parliament, which was the aggravation of his offence, there was some testimony given to the house by some lords present, that the lord Ossory had complained of the duke's comportment towards him before those words used in the house by him, of the Irish interest or Irish understanding, and resolved to expostulate with him upon it; so that those words could not be the ground of the quarrel. And it was evident by the duke's own confession and declaration, that he was as ready to fight, and went to the place appointed by himself for encounter; which made the offence equal." And therefore they moved, "that they might be both brought to the bar, and upon their knees receive the sentence of the house for their commitment to the Tower."

976 Some, who would shew their kindness to the duke, were not willing that he should undergo the same punishment with the other, until some lords, who were known not to

be his friends, were very earnest "that the duke might receive no punishment, because he had committed no fault; for that it was very evident that he never intended to fight, and had, when no other tergiversation would serve his turn, prudently mistaken the place that was appointed by himself;" which was pressed by two or three lords in such a pleasant manner, with reflection upon some expressions used by himself, that his better friends thought it would be more for his honour to undergo the censure of the house than the penalty of such a vindication: and so they were both sent to the Tower.

977 And during the time they remained there, the bill against Ireland remained in suspense, and uncalled for by those, who would not hazard their cause in the absence of their strongest champion. But the same spirit was kept up in all other arguments, the displeasure, that had arisen against each other in that, venting itself in contradictions and sharp replies in all other occasions; a mischief that is always contracted from the agitation of private affairs, where different interests are pursued; from whence personal animosities arise, which are not quickly laid aside, after the affair itself that produced those passions is composed and ended. And this kind of distemper never more appeared, nor ever lasted longer, than from the debate and contestation upon this bill.

978 Those two lords were no sooner at liberty, and their displeasure towards each other suppressed or silenced by the king's command, but another more untoward outrage happened, that continued the same disturbance. It happened that upon the debate of the same affair, the Irish bill, there was a conference appointed with the house of commons, in which the duke of Buckingham was a manager; and as they were sitting down in the painted chamber, which is seldom done in good order, it chanced that the marquis of Dorchester sat next the duke of Buckingham, between whom there was no good correspondence.

The one changing his posture for his own ease, which made the station of the other the more uneasy, they first endeavoured by justling to recover what they had dispossessed each other of, and afterwards fell to direct blows ; in which the marquis, who was the lower of the two in stature, and was less active in his limbs, lost his periwig, and received some rudeness, which nobody imputed to his want of courage, which was ever less questioned than that of the other.

979 The misdemeanour, greater than had ever happened, in that place and upon such an occasion, in any age when the least reverence to government was preserved, could not be concealed ; but as soon as the conference was ended, was reported to the house, and both parties heard, who both confessed enough to make them undergo the censure of the house. The duke's friends would fain have justified him, as being provoked by the other ; and it was evident their mutual undervaluing each other always disposed them to affect any opportunity to manifest it. But the house sent them both to the Tower ; from whence after a few days they were again released together, and such a reconciliation made as after such rencounters is usual, where either party thinks himself beforehand with the other, as the marquis had much of the duke's hair in his hands to recompense for the pulling off his periwig, which he could not reach high enough to do to the other.

980 When all things were thus far quieted, the bill was again entered upon with no less passion for the stock that had been wasted. The arguments which were urged against the bill for the injustice of it [were], “that they should, without any cause or demerit on their part, or any visible evidence of a benefit that would accrue from it to this kingdom, deprive his majesty's two other kingdoms of a privilege they had ever been possessed of: that they might as reasonably take away the trade from any one county in England, because it produced some inconveni-

ence to another county more in their favour: that the large counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, and other provinces, would lose as much by the passing of this act, as the northern and any other counties would gain by it: that those two kingdoms might with the same justice press his majesty's concurrence, that they might have no trade with England, which would bring more damage to England by much, than it would gain by this act of restraint: and that it was against all the maxims of prudence, to run the danger of a present mischief and damage, as this would produce in Ireland by the testimony of the lord lieutenant and council of that kingdom, only upon the speculation of a future benefit that might accrue, though it were yet only in speculation."

981 These, and many other arguments of this kind, which for the most part were offered by men who had not the least relation to Ireland, made no other impression, than that they were content to leave Scotland out of the bill; which increased their party against Ireland, and gave little satisfaction to the other, who did not so much value the commerce with the other kingdom. And this alteration the house of commons likewise consented to, but with great opposition, since in truth that concession destroyed the foundation upon which the whole fabric of the bill was supported.

982 Then the debate fell upon some derogatory clauses and provisos very contrary to his majesty's just prerogative and power, (for they made his majesty's own license and warrant of no effect or authority, but liable to be controlled by a constable; nor would permit the importation of three thousand beeves, which, by an act of parliament in Ireland, were every year to be delivered at Chester and another port for the provision of the king's house;) which in many respects the house generally disliked, and desired "that it might have no other style than had been accustomed in all the penal acts of parliament which were



in force, it being to be presumed, that the king would never dispense with any violation of it, except in such cases as the benefit and good of the kingdom required it; which might naturally fall out, if there should happen such a murrain amongst the beasts of that species, as had been these late years amongst horses, which had destroyed so many thousand, that good horses were now hard to be procured. And if the same or the like destruction should fall upon the other cattle, we should have then more cause to complain of the scarcity and the dearness of meat, than we have now of the plenty and cheapness, which was the only grievance now felt, and which kingdoms seldom complained of: and in such a case it would be very great pity, that the king should not have power enough to provide for the supply of his subjects, and to prevent a common dearth."

983 But this was again opposed with as much passion and violence as had fallen out in any part of the debate; and such rude arguments used against such a power in the king, as if the question were upon reposing some new trust in him, whereas it was upon divesting him of a trust that was inherent in him from all antiquity: and "that it was the same thing to be without the bill, and not to provide against the king's dispensing with the not obeying it, whose inclinations were well known in this particular; and therefore the effect of them, and of the importunity of the courtiers, must be provided against." And throughout this discourse there was such a liberty of language made use of, as reflected more upon the king's honour, and indeed upon his whole council and court, [than had] been heard in that house, but in a time of rebellion, without very severe reprehension: and it so much offended the house now, that, notwithstanding all the sturdy opposition, it was resolved that those clauses and provisos should be amended in some places, and

totally left out in others. And with the alteration and amendments it was sent down to the house of commons.

984 At this time the public affairs and necessities were little looked after or considered. The fleet was come into the ports, but [there was] no money to pay off the men: and what was equally mischievous, there was no way to make the provisions for the next spring, that the fleet might be ready for the sea by the time the enemy would assuredly be out. If the victualler were not supplied, who had much money due to him, the season would be past in which he was to buy the cattle that he must kill; and he complained how much he should suffer by this bill of Ireland, which already raised the price of all meats. And the yards wanted all those tacklings and rigging and masts, without which another fleet could not be sent out, and which could no otherwise be provided than by ready money. The king had anticipated all his own revenue, and was ready to expose that for further security, but nobody would trust. The new provisos in the bill of supply at Oxford gave no new credit, but were found as mischievous as any body had apprehended they would be: and the bankers, who in all such occasions were a sure refuge, wanted now credit themselves; which that they might not recover, the parliament had treated them as ill since they came together, that is, with reproaches and threats, as they had done at Oxford. In which kind of persecution sir William Coventry, and some who followed him, led the van, very much to the king's prejudice and against his command; but they excused themselves, upon the credit it gave them in the house to do him service.

985 All this was well enough understood: and it was as visible, that they intended to make it a forcible argument for the passing the Irish bill, which, though from different motives, was now become the sacrifice, without which

they would not be appeased ; and therefore, when the bill was sent to them with those alterations and amendments, they rejected them all, and voted, "that they would adhere to their own bill without departing from a word of it, except with reference to Scotland," from which they had receded. And if upon this very unusual return the house of peers had likewise voted, "that they too would adhere," which they might regularly have done, and would have been consented to by the major part of the house if the question had been then put ; there had been an end of that bill. But that must not be suffered : the party that cherished it was too much concerned to let it expire in a deep silence, and were numerous enough to obstruct and defer what they liked not, though not to establish what they desired. Some of them, that is, some who desired that the bill should pass, though uncorrupted by their passions, did not like the obstinacy of the house of commons in not departing from some unusual clauses and pretences ; yet were not willing to have the like vote for adhering to pass in that house, which it might do when all other remedies should fail ; and therefore moved, "that a conference might be required, in which such reasons might be given as might satisfy them." Many conferences, and free conferences, were held, in which the commons still maintained their adherence with a wonderful petulance : and those members, who were appointed to manage the conferences, took the liberty to use all those arguments, and the very expressions, which had been used in the house of peers, against leaving any power in the king to dispense ; and added such other of their own as more reflected upon his majesty's honour ; and yet concluded as if they could say more if they were provoked, upon which every man might make what glosses he pleased, and the king himself was left to his own imaginations.

986    There need be no other instance given of the unheard

of and incredible passion that was shewed in the transaction of that bill, than a particular that related to the city of London. Upon the news of the great fire in London, and the devastation that it made there, there was so general a lamentation in Ireland as might be expected from a neighbour province, that had so great a commerce with and dependance upon it. And the consent in this lamentation was so digested, that the several provinces had made a computation and division between themselves, and presented a declaration to the lord lieutenant and council, "that they had so tender a sense of that calamity, that if they were able to raise money to administer some assistance to the city towards the reparation of their great loss, they would willingly offer and present it: but that not being in their power or possession, the great scarcity and want of money throughout that kingdom being notoriously known, but there being somewhat in their power to offer, which might at least testify their goodwill, and not be wholly useless towards the end they designed it; they had agreed between themselves to give unto the lord mayor and city of London, and to be disposed of by them to such particular uses as they should judge most convenient, the number of thirty thousand Irish beasts, which should be delivered within such a time and at such ports," which were named, "to any such persons as should be appointed to receive them." And of this they desired the lord lieutenant and council to advertise the king, and likewise give notice to the city of London: both which were done accordingly; and the advertisement arrived in the city in the time when this bill was depending in the lords' house. Whereupon the lord mayor and aldermen presented a petition to the lords, with a proviso that they desired might be inserted in the bill that was before them, by which it was provided, "that nothing contained in that bill should hinder the city of London from enjoying the charitable donative of

the thirty thousand cattle, but that they might have liberty to import the same.”

987 It can hardly be believed with what passion and indignation this petition was received by the house, what invectives were made against the city, “for their presumption in interposing their own particular interest to obstruct the public affairs of the kingdom;” and then the reflections which were made upon the council of Ireland, for giving countenance to such an address, and becoming instruments themselves to promote and advance it: which they would not allow “to be an offering of charity, but a cheat and a cozenage by combination to elude an act of parliament, which they could not choose but hear of, and could not but believe that it was passed by this time. Which if it had been, and that power left in the king as had been proposed, they might now see how it would have been applied: for they could not doubt, but there would enough have advised the king, that he should gratify the city of London with a license for this importation; which could not or would not have been so warily drawn, but that, under the license for thirty thousand, there would be three hundred thousand imported into England; and this the great charity aimed at and was assured of.” And so, after much bitterness, they desired “that the petition and the proviso might be both rejected.”

988 But this passion did not cover the whole house, which neither commended nor approved it, and were much less transported with it. They believed it was a very seasonable intention of charity, and would not take upon them to frustrate it; and so prevailed, that it was passed in that house, and transmitted with approbation to the other. But it had the same fate there with the other provisos, and was thrown out with that bitterness and observation which had been offered against it by some lords. Nor could any expedients alter or remove their obstinacy, though many were offered upon conferences, and particularly

“that all the beasts should be killed in Ireland and powdered there, and then sent over in barrels or other casks;” but they found cozenage in that too, and were as angry with the cattle when they were dead, as when they were alive, [as if it would] for a time keep down the price of meat in England, which they desired to advance: so that there was nothing gotten in all those conferences, but the discovery of new jealousies of the king and the court, and new insinuations of the discontents and murmurs in the country, that this bill was so long obstructed. Which being still represented to the king with the most ghastly aspects towards what effects it might produce, his majesty in the end was prevailed upon, notwithstanding very earnest advice to the contrary, not only to be willing to give his royal assent when it should be offered to him, but to take very great pains to remove those obstructions which hindered it from being offered to him, and to solicit particularly very many lords to depart from their own sense, and [to] conform to what he thought convenient to his service; which gave those who loved him not great argument of triumph, and to those who loved him very passionately much matter of mortification. Yet after all this, and when his majesty had changed some men’s resolutions, and prevailed with others to withdraw and to be absent when the bill should come again to be discussed, it was carried with great difficulty and with great opposition, and against the protestation of many of the lords.

989 In all the debate upon this bill, and upon the other of accounts, the chancellor had the misfortune to lose much credit in the house of commons, not only by a very [strong] and cordial opposition [to] what they desired, but by taking all occasions, which were offered by the frequent arguments which were urged “of the opinion and the authority of the house of commons, and that it was fit and necessary to concur with them,” to mention them with less reverence than they expected. It is very true: he had always used

in such provocations to desire the lords, “to be more solicitous in preserving their own unquestionable rights and most important privileges, and less tender in restraining the excess and new encroachments of the house of commons, which extended their jurisdiction beyond their limits.” He put them often in mind “of the mischiefs which had their original from the liberties the house of commons assumed, and the compliance the house of peers had descended to, in the late ill times, and which produced the rebellion; and were carried so far, till, after all the multiplied affronts, they had wrested the whole authority out of the hands of the house of peers, and at last declared them useless members of the commonwealth, and shut up the door of their house with a padlock, which they had never power to unfasten till the king’s return.” And in those occasions his expressions were many times so lively, that they offended many of the lords who were present, and had too much contributed to those extravagances, as much as it could do any of the commons.

990 The truth is, he did never dissemble from the time of his return with the king, whom he had likewise prepared and disposed to the same sentiments whilst his majesty was abroad, that his opinion was, “that the late rebellion could never be extirpated and pulled up by the roots, till the king’s regal and inherent power and prerogative should be fully avowed and vindicated; and till the usurpations in both houses of parliament since the year 1640 were disclaimed and made odious; and many other excesses, which had been affected by both before that time under the name of privileges, should be restrained or explained:” for all which reformation the kingdom in general was very well disposed, when it pleased God to restore the king to it. Nor did the convention, which proclaimed the king and invited him to return, exercise after his return any exorbitant power, but what was of necessity upon former

irregularities, and contributed to the present ends and desires of the king.

991 And this parliament, that was upon the dissolution of the former quickly summoned by the king's writ, willingly inclined to that method, as appears by those many excellent acts which vindicated the king's sovereign power over parliaments, and declared the nullity of all acts done by one or both houses without the king's assent; declared and settled the absolute power of the crown over the militia; repealed that act of parliament that had excluded the bishops from being members of the house of peers, and restored them to their session there; and repealed that other infamous act for triennial parliaments, which had clauses in it to have led the people into rebellion; and would willingly have prosecuted the same method, if they had had the same advice and encouragement.

992 But they had continued to sit too long together, and were invited to meddle and interpose in matters out of their own sphere, to give their advice with reference to peace and war, to hold conferences with the king, and to offer their advices to him, and to receive orders from himself; and his majesty was persuaded by very unskilful men, "that they were so absolutely at his disposal, that he need never doubt their undertaking any thing that would be ingrateful to him, and that whilst he preserved that entire interest he had in the lower house, (which he might easily do,) he need not care what the other house did or had a mind to do;" and so induced his majesty to undervalue his house of peers as of little power to do him good or harm, and prevailed with him too far to countenance that false doctrine; towards which the house of peers themselves contributed too much, by not inquiring into or considering the public state of the kingdom, or providing remedies for growing evils, or indeed meddling with any thing in the government till they were invited to it by some message or overture from the



house of commons : insomuch as they sat not early in the morning, according to the former custom of parliaments, but came not together till ten of the clock ; and very often adjourned as soon as they met, because that nothing was brought from the house of commons that administered cause of consultation ; and upon that ground often adjourned for one or two days together, whilst the other house sat, and drew the eyes of the kingdom upon them, as the only vigilant people for their good.

993 Then when any thing fell in their way, that they could draw a consequence from that might relate to their privileges, they were so jealous of an invasion, that they neither considered former precedents, nor rules of honour or justice ; and were not only solicitous for that freedom which belonged to themselves and their menial servants, who ought not to be disquieted by private suits and prosecutions in law, whilst they are obliged to attend upon the service of their country in parliament, but gave their protections “ad libitum,” and which were commonly sold by their servants to bankrupt citizens, and to such who were able but refused to pay their just debts. And when their creditors knew that they could have no relation of attendance to any man, and thereupon caused them to be arrested, they produced some protection granted to them by some lord ; whereupon they were not only discharged, but their creditors, and all who bore any part in the prosecution, were punished with great rigour, and to their great loss and damage, and to the great prejudice of the city, and interruption of the whole course of the justice of the kingdom.

994 When the house of commons sent up a bill for the suppression or reformation of many irregularities and misdemeanours, which had grown up in the late times of disorder and confusion, as conventicles and other riotous assemblies, wherein there was a necessity of some clauses of power to inferior officers, whereby they were qualified

to discover those transgressions which would otherwise be concealed; the lords would be sure always to insert some proviso to save their privileges, even in acts which provided for the punishment of such crimes as no person of quality could be supposed to be guilty of, as stealing of wood, and such vile trespasses: which took up much time in debate, and incensed the house of commons, and produced many froward debates, in which the king thought the peers in the wrong.

995 This kind of temper or distemper upon very trivial and light occasions, in seasons which required gravity and despatch, provoked the house of commons to take more upon them, to enter upon contests sometimes unreasonably with the lords, and to assume to themselves an authority in matters in which they ought not to interpose; and then were encouraged and indeed induced by those who had near relation to the king and were trusted in his service, to affect novelties both in the form and substance of their proceedings, which those persons concurred in, much out of ignorance what was to be done, and more out of affectation to compass some crooked end of their own, to the prejudice of another person who was in their disfavour. And when these sallies out of the old trodden path were taken notice of, and his majesty had [been] advised to prevent them in time, he was persuaded, either "that the exceptions were in matters of little moment, and made only by formal men who liked nothing that was out of the old common road; or that the liberty would be applied to his service, and in many useful occasions would mollify or subdue the inconvenient morosity of the lords; or, when it should exceed, it would be still in his majesty's power to restrain it, when he found it necessary." And these discourses prevailed too much with his majesty, till he now found the humour was grown too sturdy for him to contend with; and the same men, who had persuaded him to condemn it, were

now more importunate with him that he would comply with it.

996 The chancellor had always as earnestly opposed the over-captious insisting upon privilege in the lords' house, either when in truth there was not a just ground for it, or when they would extend it further than it would regularly reach; and oftentimes put them in mind "of many exorbitant acts which stood still mentioned in their journal-books, of their proceedings in the late rebellious times, which might be looked upon as precedents by posterity, and in which the house of commons had really invaded their greatest privileges, and trampled upon their highest jurisdiction; which was worthy of their most strict [proceedings] to vindicate by protestation, and by expunging the memorial thereof out of all their books and records, that there might be no footsteps left to mislead the succeeding ages;" and often desired them "to preserve a power in themselves to put the house of commons in mind of their exceeding their limits, for which they often gave them occasion, and particularly as often as they sent to quicken them in any debate, which was a very modern presumption, and derogatory from that respect which a house of commons had always paid to the house of lords. And this they could not reasonably or effectually do, till they declined all unjust or unnecessary pretences to privileges which were not their due, and especially to a power of calling private cases of right and justice, which ought to be determined by the law and in courts of justice, to be heard and adjudged before themselves in parliament; of which there were too frequent occasions to oppose and contradict their jurisdiction."

997 This free way of discourse offended many of the lords, who thought him not jealous enough of nor zealous for the privilege of the peerage: and they were now very glad that he used so much more freedom against the

proceedings of the house of commons, which they were sure would be resented below, more than it had been above. And many of his friends informed him "how ill it was taken; and how carefully all that he said, and much that he did not say, was transmitted by some of the lords to them, who would not fail in some season to remember and apply it to his highest disadvantage;" and therefore desired him "to use less fervour in those argumentations." But he was in that, as in many things of that kind that related to the offending other men, for his own sake uncounsellable: not that he did not know that it exposed him to the censure of some men who lay in wait to do him hurt, but because he neglected those censures, nor valued the persons who promoted them; being confident that he would be liable to no charge that he should be ashamed of, and well knowing that he had, and being well known to have, a higher esteem of parliament, and a greater desire to preserve the just privileges of both houses, than they had who seemed to be angry with him on that behalf; and that the extending [them] beyond their due length would in the end endanger the destruction of parliaments.

99<sup>8</sup> But he shortly after found, that this guard was not secure enough to defend him. What he said in parliament was the sense of more who would not speak it, than there were of those who disliked it; and how much soever it offended them, they could not out of it find a crime to accuse him of. But they who were more concerned to remove him from a post, where he too narrowly watched and too often obstructed the liberties they took, resolved to sacrifice all their oaths and obligations, which obliged them to the contrary, to the satisfaction of their envy and their malice: and so whatsoever he said or advised in the most secret council to the king himself with reference to things or persons, they communicated all to those who had most reason to be angry, yet could

not own the information. Of all which he had advertisement, and that a storm would be shortly raised to shake him, of which he had little apprehension; never suspecting that it would arise out of that quarter, from whence he soon after discerned it to proceed.

999 There was another particular and private accident that fell out at this time, that administered more occasion of faction and dissension in the houses, which always obstructed and perplexed all public business. The marquis of Dorchester had some years before married one of his daughters to the lord Roos, eldest son to the earl of Rutland; both families very noble in themselves, and of great fortunes, and allied to all the great families of the kingdom. The lady being of a humour not very agreeable, and not finding the satisfaction she expected where she ought to have received it, looked for it abroad where she ought not to find it. And her husband, as men conscious to themselves of any notable defect used to be, was indulgent enough, not strictly inquiring how she behaved herself, and she as little dissembling or concealing the contempt she had of her husband; until his friends, especially the mother, (who was a lady of a very great spirit and most exalted passion,) took notice of her frequent absence from her husband, and of her little kindness towards him when she was present with him. And the young lady, who with her other defects had want of wit to bear a reprehension she deserved, instead of excusing, avowed her no esteem of her husband; charged him with debauchery, and being always in drink, which was too true; and reproached him with folly, as a man not worthy to be beloved. And the passion swelling to a great height on both sides, the marquis came to be engaged on the behalf of his daughter, and challenged her husband to fight with him, who in many respects was not capable, nor did understand those encounters.

1000 In the end, after many acts of passion, which adminis-

tered too much cause of mirth and scandal to the world, yet by the advice and mediation of friends, as good a reconciliation as in such cases is usual was made, and the young couple brought to live again together. And the lady having the ascendant over the lord, who was very desirous to live quietly upon any conditions, that he might enjoy himself though he could not enjoy her, he was contented that she made a journey to London upon pretence to see some friends: and the time being expired which she had prescribed for her absence, he sent to her to return, which she deferred from time to time. But at last, after many months, she returned to him in so gross a manner, that it appeared that she had kept company too much, which she never endeavoured to conceal; and when her husband told her "that she was with child," and asked "who got it;" she answered him confidently, "that whoever got it, if it proved a boy, as she believed it would, he should be earl of Rutland."

1001 This was more than the young man could bear without informing his mother, (the good earl not loving to engage himself in so much noise,) who presently took care that the great-bellied lady was made a prisoner in her chamber, strictly guarded, that she could not go out of those lodgings which were assigned her; all her own servants removed from her, and others appointed to attend; and all other things supplied that she could stand in need of or require, liberty only excepted. Yet in this close restraint she found means to advertise her father of the condition she was in, and made it much worse than it was, seeming to apprehend the safety of her life threatened by the malice of the countess, mother to her husband, "who," she said, "did all she could to alienate his affection from her; and now that she found she was with child, would persuade him that it was not his; and took all this extreme course, either to make her miscarry and so endanger her life, or to put an end to mother and child when

she should miscarry:" and therefore besought her father, "that he would find some way to procure her liberty, and to remove her from that place, as the only means to save her life."

1002 The marquis, with the passion of a father, and confidence of his daughter's virtue, and having no reverence for the countess, thought it an act of great barbarity, and consulted whether he could have any remedy at law to recover his daughter's liberty; and finding little hope from thence, (the restraint of a wife by the jealousy of her husband in his own house being not a crime the law had provided a remedy against,) he resorted then to the king, who as little knew how to meddle in it. In the mean time he sent women to see and attend his daughter, who were admitted to see and confer with her, but not to stay with her; the countess declaring, "that she should want nothing; but that since it was impossible that the child could be of kin to her son, who had not seen her in so many months before the child must have been got, she would provide that there should be no more foul play, when she should be delivered; and after that time she should have no more restraint or residence in that house, but be at liberty to go whither she would."

1003 The conclusion was, the lady was delivered, and a son born, who was quickly christened by the name of Ignoto, and committed to a poor woman, who lived near, to be nursed; and as soon as the lady recovered strength enough, she was dismissed and sent to a house of her father, who received her with the affection he thought was due to her. And having conferred and examined her with all the strictness he could, he remained satisfied in her innocence, and consequently of the barbarous treatment she had received, and the injury and indignity, both to him and her, that was done to the son; for which he was resolved to leave no way untried in which he might receive a vindication. In order to which he first desired the king to hear all par-

ties, who was prevailed with to appoint a day for the doing it, being attended by some bishops and other lords of his council; when the marquis and his daughter, and the lord Roos and his mother [appeared], with more ladies than could have the patience to stay till the end of the examination, where there were so many indecent and uncleanly particulars mentioned, that made all the auditors very weary. Nor was there any room for his majesty to interpose towards a reconciliation, which was in view impossible; nor could the lady be excused for a great delight she took in making her husband jealous of her, and in expressing a contempt of him, whatever else she was guilty of: and so the king left it as he found it. And the marquis, who had heard many things he did not expect to have heard, took his daughter to his own house, that by her own strict behaviour she might best vindicate herself from the scandal she lay under: but she quickly freed him from that hope and expectation; for within a short time after, she, not being able to submit to the strict order and discipline of her father's house, which would not permit those wanderings she desired to make, nor the visits she desired to receive, made an escape from thence, and lodged herself at more liberty, and lived in that manner as gave too much evidence against her with reference to the time that was past.

1004 The marquis, who was a man of great honour, and most punctual in all things relating to justice, gave a noble instance of both, and how much he detested the base and unworthy behaviour of his own child, when it was manifest to him. He went to the other noble family, asked their pardon "for his incredulity, and for any offence he had committed against them, or reproach he laid upon [them], for the vindication of an unworthy woman, who he believed now had deserved all and more aspersions than had been laid on her: and therefore he was ready to join with them to free the family, as much as was pos-



sible, from the infamy she had brought to them and him, and that her base issue might not be an eternal reproach in their family." Upon this she was first, upon the complaint of her husband, cited into the court of the arches before the ecclesiastical judges: where, after a full examination of witnesses on both sides, and hearing what she could allege in her own defence, her crime was declared to be proved sufficiently; and thereupon a judgment was pronounced "of a full and entire separation *a toro et a mensa pro causa adulterii*," in such a form, and with such circumstances, as are of course in those cases.

1005 But all this was not remedy enough against the bastard's title to the honour of that illustrious family: and therefore there was a bill prepared, wherein all the foul carriage of the lady was set out, the birth and christening of Ignoto, the declaration and judgment of the court of the arches, and separation of the parties for the adultery proved; and thereupon a desire that it might be declared by act of parliament, "that the son, Ignoto by name, is a bastard, and incapable to inherit any part of the title, honour, or estate of or belonging to the house of Rutland; and the same incapacity to attend all other children, which from that time, the birth of Ignoto, had or might be born from the body of that lady." And this bill being presented to the house of peers by a lord nearly allied to that family, the earl of Rutland being present with the marquis, as soon as it was read the marquis stood up, and "with expressions of trouble, and of the justice that was due to the greatness of a noble house, that had received a foul blemish by a woman of too near a relation to him, of whom he was ashamed," gave his free consent to the bill, and desired that it might pass: and the earl likewise besought the house, "that so infamous a branch might not be ingrafted into his family, of which his son, the lord Roos, was the sole heir male, with whom the honour must expire."

1006 It was a case of general concernment, as well as compassion, that an impudent woman should have the power to give an heir to inherit a noble title and fortune by descent, when it was so notoriously known and adjudged to be illegitimate, and a mere stranger to the blood of the house. Yet there were some very good lords, and who detested the woman and the wickedness, made much scruple of making a new precedent in a particular case, that undermined a foundation of law, and opened a door to let in an unjust declaration, upon pretences not so well proved, to the disinherison of one that should not be illegitimate. But though it was a rare case, it was found not to be a new one, there having been one or two declarations of bastardy in parliament in the reign of king Henry VII and Henry VIII.

1007 However, it was as just that she should be heard, to defend both herself and her son; and therefore the bill being read the second time, it was committed, with direction "that the lady should have personal [notice] to attend, before the committee entered upon it:" and after long inquiry at the places where she used to be, it was found that she had transported herself into Ireland, in the company of the person whom she had preferred before her husband; and there was reason to believe, that it was after she had notice of the bill. However, all proceedings were respite till there was full proof given to the house, by the person himself who had spoken with her in Ireland, and given her the warrant that required her attendance upon the committee: and then, after many days longer delay, it was read and debated, and by the committee reported to the house to be engrossed.

1008 And then, and not till then, the duke of Buckingham opposed the passing of it, upon pretence, "that in the bill [the lord Roos] had assumed a title that belonged to him by his mother, who had been heir female to Francis earl of Rutland;" when that title, now challenged, had de-

scended to George the brother of Francis, and had been enjoyed by two earls of Rutland since. It was generally thought a strange exception: nor was it known, whether the duke was disposed to it as a revenge upon the marquis, or to shew his own power, (for he had many who concurred with him in both houses upon many occasions,) or whether he did in truth desire to support the lady in her infamy, he not being over-tender in cases of that nature. However, it was necessary to recommit the bill, that some expedient might be there found to remove the obstruction, which though he was obstinate in till the house was tired with many days debate upon it, in which most of his adherents upon the unreasonableness left him, he persisted still and maintained the debate almost alone, till the time of the session approached; when the lord Roos was compelled to humour him in leaving out a title that all the world gave him. And then, after intolerable vexation to the house and loss of time, he desisted to appear against it; and the act passed the royal assent.

1009 The ill humour of the house of commons was not abated; and though they knew well that their Irish bill could never have passed the upper house but by the king's powerful interposition, they remained still jealous, or pretended to be so, that he would not give his assent; which till he should do, they would admit no debate of money: so that as soon as the bill was presented to him, his majesty came to the house of peers, and sent for the commons to attend him upon the 18th day of January; when, after he had given his consent to that and another private bill which they had presented, he told them, "that he had now passed their bills, and that he had been in hope to have had other bills ready to have passed too." He said, "that he could not forget, that within few days after their coming together in September, both houses had presented to him their vote and declaration, that they would give him a supply proportionable to his occasions;

and the confidence of that had made him anticipate that small part of his revenue which was unanticipated, for the payment of the seamen; and his credit had gone further than he had reason to think it would, but it was now at an end.

1010 "This was the first day," he said, "he had heard of a supply, being the 18th of January, and what it would amount unto, God only knew; and what time he had to make such preparations as were necessary to meet three such enemies as he had, they could well enough judge. And he must tell them, what discourses soever were abroad, he was not in any treaty; but by the grace of God he would not give over himself and them, but would do what was in his power for defence of both. It was high time for them to make good their promise; and it was high time for them to be in the country, as well for the raising of money, as that the lords lieutenants and deputy lieutenants might watch those seditious spirits which were at work to disturb the public peace. And therefore he was resolved to put an end to that session on Monday next come sennight, before which time he desired that all things might be made ready that he was to despatch." His majesty said, "he was not willing to complain that they had dealt unkindly with him in a bill he had then passed, in which they had manifested a greater distrust of him than he had deserved. He did not pretend to be without infirmities, but he had never broken his word to them; and if he did not flatter himself, the nation had never less cause to complain of grievances, or the least injustice or oppression, than it had had in those seven years since it had pleased God to restore him to them: he would," he said, "be glad to be used accordingly."

1011 This little quickness in his majesty prevailed more upon them, than all the former application had done: and now they saw that they should not be suffered to

continue longer together, they resolved to leave some relish of their former duty and compliance. Not that the humour was at all reformed or abated in those who had shewed so much frowardness, who still continued as perverse as ever ; but they were overruled by the major part of the house, as they would have been sooner, if it had not been that a contrary course had been pursued to what had been formerly. Nor were they, who had advised that change, willing that his majesty should decline the same method, and were much troubled that he had not caressed the house more in his late discourse. And as they had before advised his majesty freely and without any condition to offer the repeal, and release the act that had granted the chimney-money to him, which was a very good and a growing revenue, but they observed to be unpopular ; upon a presumption (which they assured him could not fail) that so generous an action in his majesty towards his people would be immediately requited by a grant of much greater value, (and they had prevailed in this counsel, if the chancellor and the treasurer had not with great resolution opposed it, and made evident to his majesty, “ that he ought never to propose it himself though with conditions, because it would make the grace undervalued, and the conditions to be esteemed unreasonable ; nor to hearken to any general proposition, or consent to the repeal of that act, without having a full and equivalent recompense (which ought to be very well weighed) granted in the same act of parliament ; for he had now sufficient evidence, that the constant good-humour of the house was not to be depended upon :” which confirmed his majesty to resolve never to hearken to the one without the other, and so that mischief was prevented :) [so they] were now as desirous that the house of commons would still press the despatch of the bill of accounts, which rested in the lords’ house ; and assured them, “ that if they would embrace the same positiveness

they had done, the chancellor would be no more able to hinder the passing of that act, than he had been to keep his majesty from consenting to the Irish bill so much against his resolution." But they and their friends could not keep up the same spirit of stubbornness in the house, nor prevail with the king to recede from his purpose: so that the bill for accounts remained still in the house of lords not fully discussed. And such a progress was made in the house of commons, notwithstanding all opposition, that a bill for supply was prepared within the time prescribed, though in respect of the proportion not equal to the occasions, and entangled still with the same inconvenient clauses and provisos which had so unwarily been admitted at Oxford, and which made what was granted unapplicable to the procuring ready money; of which his majesty was now fully convinced. But the time was too short to labour in the alteration. And so the bill, as it was, was sent up to the lords, who, after the short formality that cannot be avoided, gave it a passage through that house: so that it was now ready for the king.

1012 The eighth of February the king came to the parliament, and the speaker of the house presented the bill to the king, who gave his royal assent to it, and thanked them for it, with his assurance, "that the money should be laid out for the ends it was given: however," he said, "he hoped he should live to have bills of this nature in the old style, with fewer provisos." He took notice, "that the bill of accounts for the money that had been already raised since the war was not offered to him: but," his majesty said, "that he would take care (after so much noise) that the same should not be stifled; but that he would issue out his commission in the manner he had formerly promised the house of peers; and the commissioners should have very much to answer, if they should not discover all matters of fraud and cozenage." He told them, "the season of the year was very far spent, in which the

enemy had got great advantage; but by the help of God, he would make all the preparations he could, and as fast as he could: and yet he would tell them, that if any good overtures were made for an honourable peace, he would not reject them; and he believed all sober men would be glad to see it brought to pass.

1013 “He would now prorogue them till towards winter, that they might in their several places intend the peace and security of their several countries, where there were unquiet spirits still working. He did pray them,” and said, “he did expect it from them, that they would use their utmost endeavours to remove all those false imaginations out of the hearts of the people, which the malice of ill men had industriously infused into them, of he knew not what jealousies and grievances: for he must tell them again, and he was sure he was in the right, that the people had never so little cause to complain of oppression and grievances, as they had since his return to them. If the taxes and impositions were grievous and heavy upon them, they would put them in mind, that a war with such powerful enemies could not be maintained without taxes; and he was sure the money raised thereby came not into his purse.” He concluded “with promising himself good effects from their affections and wisdoms, wherever they were: and he did hope they should all meet again of one mind, for his honour, and the good of the kingdom.” And so they were prorogued to the tenth day of October next.

1014 And now the king had very much to do, more than he had time or tools to despatch. Yet he began first where the parliament left [off], that when they came again together, they might have no cause to say, that he had not performed what he had promised, and so with the same passion renew their clamour upon the accounts, which was made now a very popular complaint; and whoever was accused of obstructing that examination,

was presently concluded to have had a share in the prey. Yet he was not willing that such a strict account or examination should be made, especially into the receipt of the lord Ashley for the prizes, that all the world should know what money had been issued out by his own immediate orders, and to whom. Hereupon he commanded his attorney and solicitor general to prepare a commission, with all necessary clauses, to call all persons to account who had received any such monies, and to examine and take any exception to the same.

1015 And that there might be no just exception to the commission, which he knew would be strictly looked into, they were required "to advise with all or any of the judges, that it might have their approbation; and that there should be a clause in the commission, whereby the commissioners should be authorized to call any of the judges to their assistance, when upon any matters of difficulty they should think it necessary." And that there might be no exception to any of the commissioners, as like to be partial in respect of friendship or alliance to any of those who were to be called before them, his majesty appointed all those persons, who were nominated for commissioners in the bill sent to the house of lords by the commons, to be inserted into this commission; and likewise made choice of such a number of the peers as was fit, to be joined to the others, and named those who had upon all debates in the house appeared most solicitous, that a very exact account should be required, and of such others who had no relation to the court, and were looked upon with the [utmost] esteem by the house of commons: all which was prepared with the expedition that was possible, and the commission sealed; and notice given to all the commissioners, that they should meet at a place appointed; upon a day named, presently after Easter, by which time the judges would be returned out of their circuits; and



they were then at liberty to adjourn to what place they pleased.

1016 We are now to enter upon the occurrences of the year 1667, a year little more prosperous to the public than the year preceding, and fatal in respect of many calamitous accidents, to the chancellor, and which put a period to his greatness; the circumstances whereof, very notorious, were so interwoven with the public transactions of state, that it is not easy to make a distinct and clear relation of the one without the other.

1017 The temper the parliament had been in, and the delay they had used in giving the king any supply towards the carrying on the war, made the king discern that he had been too confident of their generosity, and that they had already departed from that spirit with which they first had persuaded him to enter into that war: and it was as evident (which had been often foretold to him) that the Dutch could endure being beaten longer than he could endure to beat them. They were now relieved and supplied with the money of France, and the governing party had subdued all contradictions; and whatever their affections were, all compliance and submission appeared to the commands of the state; and there wanted nothing but the season of the year to carry their fleet again to sea, as great and as well provided as it had ever been. All murmuring was transplanted from thence into England, where it grew up plentifully: and the king was, upon the credit of an act of parliament that was passed on the eighth of February, to provide a fleet ready to encounter with the potent enemies in the spring. There was no trade by sea, and therefore could not be much by land, that could bring any benefit to the king; and the seamen ran all to the privateers, who adventured for booty, which they preferred before serving in the royal navy.

1018 The king in these straits called that council together with whom he used to consult his most secret affairs; and

the chief officers at sea, and the commissioners of the navy, attended to give such information as was necessary before any resolution could be taken. There the whole state of the navy [was inquired into;] what was in the stores, and what the defects or deficiencies were, and what hopes there were of supplying them; what ships were ready, and what would be made ready in three months. The victualler was sent for, to give an account what provision of victuals was ready, and what could be provided and put on board in the same time, which was the utmost that could be limited. Every officer protested, "that there could not be the least [attempt] towards any preparations without a good sum of ready money:" and the yards were in that necessity by reason of the great arrear of wages that was due to them, that they were near a mutiny, and could not be kept to their work, being necessitated to do any work abroad to get victual for their families. The inferior officers, which belonged to the stores, lived by stealing and selling what they were intrusted to keep. In short, all things were presented to be in that confusion, that there appeared no probability of being able to set out any fleet before the enemy would be so strong upon the coast, that it would be very difficult to make a conjunction between those ships which were in the river, and the other which were at Portsmouth and in other ports.

1019 This desperate representation did not make the king take a sudden resolution: but the same council met many days morning and evening. All ways were thought upon which might administer hope to get any money; and considerations were entered upon what was to be done in case a fleet could not be provided fit to engage the enemy, and which way a defensive war was to be made at sea, and how the trade should be secured, and the coast and harbours be so preserved, that the enemy might do no affront at land; for every day brought loose and un-

grounded intelligence of bodies of horse and foot, drawn in France to the sea-side in many places upon that large coast, and likewise in Holland, and great provision of flat-bottoms, as if they intended to make some descent; which kind of rumours exceedingly discomposed the common people, though they who understood the expeditions of that nature, and with what difficulty land armies were transported, were not moved by those reports. After all expedients were considered and well weighed, his majesty found cause to despair of being able to set out in any time a fleet equal to the occasion, and so contracted his thoughts to the other part, for the defensive.

1020 There is a point of land on the Kentish coast that extends itself into the sea, and at the very entrance of the river, where the king had often thought and discoursed of erecting a royal fort, that would both preserve the coast, and likewise be a great security to the river: and the prosecuting this design was in this consultation thought of great importance, and the erecting another fort in another place, and repairing and strengthening [Landguard] Point upon the coast of Essex and Suffolk.

1021 For preparations for the sea, it was thought fit and enough, “ that a good squadron of light frigates should ride on the coast of Scotland, and another of the same strength lie off Plymouth, both which should intercept the trade of Holland both outward and inward, if they did not maintain it with strong convoys, which would break their fleet; and in those cases the frigates would easily retire to their harbours. That some frigates should be always in the Downs, to chase picaroons from infesting the coast, and to observe and get intelligence of the enemies’ motion, and upon occasion should retire up the river. That there should be some of the greatest ships at Chatham, Portsmouth, and other places, prepared and put in readiness against the end of summer, before which time money might be provided: and then the enemies’

fleet being weary and foul, it might be presumed the French would return early into their own ports, which were so far off; and then the frigates from the west and the north might find the way to join with the great ships, which should be ready against that time, and either fight the Dutch if they should choose it, or infest their coast more than they had done this, and take all their ships homeward bound from all places, which, upon the fame of their being masters of the sea all the summer, would repair home without apprehension of an enemy." And there were some officers of great experience at sea, who, being called by the king to advise upon this project, declared with confidence, "that the Dutch would be greater losers by the war thus conducted the next summer, than they had been in any year since the war begun."

1022 For the security of trade, it was declared, "that there was no possible way to secure it but by restraining it, and not suffering any merchants' ships to go to sea, and [by giving] them advice to send to all their factors and correspondents, that they should send no goods home till they received new orders:" which restraint some were against, "both because it would have an ill reception with the people, when they should find that a war, which had been entered into for the enlargement and advancement of trade, had produced a cessation of all trade; and it would appear very hard that men, who had laid out their own stocks, and were willing to venture them, should be forbid and hindered from sending them to those markets for which they had provided them, and which would turn to little less loss to them than they should incur by their being taken by the enemy. Then it would be, not a discouragement but a dissipation of the seamen, who, if they could have no employment in the king's ships or in the merchant ships, would be scattered abroad to seek their fortune, [so] that they would not be brought together when the king had occasion for their service. In the last

[place]; that the giving this order for restraint, and advice to the merchants to inform their factors and correspondents, would be, and could not choose but be, an absolute publication of this resolution of the king to send out no fleet in the spring; which was yet agreed to be the highest secret."

1023 All these reasons were temperately weighed and answered, "that it could not be unreasonable or unjust to hinder men from doing themselves harm: the king could not take their goods from them to his own use; but he might lawfully hinder them from spoiling or destroying the goods that were their own. That their being taken by the enemy (which would be unavoidable) concerned the king and the kingdom little less than it did the private owners: it would increase the insolence and the wealth of the enemy, and reflect upon his majesty's honour as well as impoverish his subjects; and the difference would be very great between losing their goods, and keeping them upon their hands for a better market. For the dissipation of the seamen, there would no great danger be of that: the squadrons on the western and the northern coasts, which must be very well manned, would entertain good numbers; and the rest would put themselves on board the privateers, who should be all bound to come home against the time the king would have occasion for their service, and then the privateers should be restrained as now the merchants. For the keeping the present resolution secret, which would by this means be published, it were to be desired that it might remain a secret as long as should be possible: but as discerning men would easily discover it, and could not but already know that it was impossible for the king in time to set out a [fleet], so it would quickly be evident to all the world; and the secret was not to be affected longer than it could be concealed."

1024 There was another inconvenience or mischief that was

in view, that would come like an armed man upon the city, which was want of fuel, especially the want of coals from Newcastle, of which there had been a vast quantity consumed in the late fire, which had likewise consumed those houses and chimneys which should be supplied ; yet the people remained still, and were not like to be much the warmer for being crowded close together. But to that there could be no other remedy applied, but the sending orders to Newcastle to employ all their ships, and all they could procure, in sending as much coal as was possible to London and the towns adjacent, before the enemy's fleet could put to sea : and convoys were assigned too strong for their privateers or small parties of their men [of war] : and the king gave two or three vessels of his own, and likewise money, to fetch coals, that the poor might have them at the rates they cost ; and directed the city to do the same. All which produced some good effect.

1025 Upon the whole matter, and thorough examination of the whole, the king concluded upon all the particulars mentioned before, assigning proper persons to supervise every particular, that all should be executed in time that was agreed upon. The duke issued out all his orders to the ships, with which sir William Coventry was charged, whose office it was : and the king would charge himself with that which was most important, the fortification at Sheerness ; whither his majesty made a journey in the cold and depth of winter, and took an engineer and some officers of the ordnance with him, that all things might be supplied from thence which belonged to that office. He caused master-workmen to be sent from London, and drew common labourers enough out of the country, having provided money to pay them. And after all things were in this order, and he had seen the work begun, he left the master-engineer, whom he designed to be the governor of the fort, for which he was very equal, upon the place ;

and committed the overlooking of the whole, that all possible expedition might be used, to one of the commissioners of the ordnance, who promised to look carefully to it: and his majesty returned to London, when in the opinion of all his servants he had stayed too long in such a season, and such an air, to the danger of his health. How all those resolutions and orders were executed afterwards, or complied with, must unavoidably be mentioned in its place.

1026 It cannot be imagined by any man who in any degree knew him, that the chancellor, though he was present, could have any part in these resolutions but the submitting to them; every particular being so much [out] of his sphere, that he never pretended to understand what was fit and reasonable to be done: nor throughout the whole conduct of the war was he ever known to presume to give an advice; but presum[ing] that all whose profession it was advised what was fit, he readily concurred. And he did always declare, “that in this last consultation all points were so fully debated; and that there was so concurrent an opinion in the commanders of the ships, and the officers of the navy, with the approbation of the duke of York, prince Rupert, and the general, that it was not possible to set out a fleet in time equal to that of the enemy, to engage with it; and that the next best would be to stand upon the defensive in the manner proposed: [that] it did not appear to him, that there was any election left but to pursue that course,” which he did believe very reasonably proposed and resolved upon; nor did any thing occur to him, why very much good might not be hoped from it, he being so totally unskilful in the knowledge of the coast and the river, that he knew not where Sheerness was, nor had ever heard of the name of such a place till this last discourse, nor had ever been upon any part of the river with any other thought about him, than to get on shore as soon as could be possible.

1027 The king had not himself thought of this defensive way, but approved it very much when he heard it so fully discussed, and in which himself had proposed all his doubts, which no man raised more pertinently in arguments of that nature than his majesty; and it may be he liked it the better, because at that time, as he was heartily weary of the war, so he was not without a reasonable hope of peace, which he resolved to cherish, as he told the parliament at parting he would do. The grounds of which hope, and the progress thereupon, the entering upon a treaty, and the conclusion thereof, will be the discourse and relation we shall next enter upon.

1028 How ill success soever had attended the negotiation of Denmark by the irresolution and unsteadiness of that court, Mr. Coventry had conducted what had been committed to him with very good effect in Sweden. And after he had disposed that court (where he had rendered himself extremely acceptable) to a just esteem of the king's friendship, and an equal aversion to the Hollander, and concluded such articles as were for the present and joint convenience and benefit of both nations, and prepared them to be willing to enter into a stricter and nearer alliance, and to that purpose to send ambassadors into England, where they had an agent; he returned to give his majesty an account and information of the constitution and temper of that court, and of the nature and disposition of the two ambassadors who were to attend his majesty, who were chosen before he left Stockholm, and resolved to embark within ten days: which they did, and arrived about the time, or soon after, that the city was so miserably destroyed by fire; which was the less favourable conjuncture, not so much by the influence that dreadful distraction and damage was like to have upon the vigorous carrying on the war, as by the ill humour which the parliament shortly after appeared to be in, and their manifest obstinacy against the king's desires; which



was a temper very different from what they expected to have found, and what they had been informed had possessed them from the time of his majesty's return. Nor was this manifest indisposition without some unhappy impression upon the spirits of the ambassadors, and that alacrity they brought with them presently to enter into a treaty, and conjunction of forces against the common enemy.

1029 It was manifest enough, that the crown of Sweden was weary of the obligations they had been long bound in to France, which had superciliously neglected of late to comply with what was on their part to be performed; and rather endeavoured to make alliances with Denmark, and the lesser neighbour princes, as those of the house of Brunswick and Lunenburg, to their disadvantage, than to consider that crown which had been so useful to them, as if their friendship was so considerable to them. Nor was this out of a real disesteem of them; but that they might bind them to a faster dependance upon them, and that they might not be severed from their interest, whatsoever they should declare it to be. And therefore, when it was first suspected that they might be inclined to England, and that Holland apprehended that they might be induced to make a conjunction with the bishop of Munster, France (as hath been touched before) sent their ambassador Pomponne into Sweden, with a full year's salary of what was in arrear, much more still remaining due, and to incline that crown to a neutrality between the English and the Dutch; in which he found Mr. Coventry had prevented him, and though he had not then the character of ambassador, he was much better respected there than he was. And as they would have joined with the bishop of Munster, if he had advanced according to his pretence, or had not been absolutely taken off by France; so, when he was diverted from his purpose, they were the more inclined to make a firm alliance with England, and there-

by such a further conjunction with other princes, protestant or catholic, that might give some check to the impetuous humour of France, which they now were as jealous of, and of their overflowing all the banks which belonged to their neighbours, as they had been formerly of the house of Austria; and for the same reason were as desirous to retire from any dependance upon or relation to that crown, as they had been formerly of its protection; and were very well prepared to change their alliance, and, if they might not be losers by it, to make a conjunction with Germany and the house of Austria, into which it was reasonable to be presumed that the United Provinces would be glad to be received upon moderate conditions when a peace should be made with England.

1030 And this was the prospect that had been presented to them by Mr. Coventry, and upon view of which they now sent their ambassadors, without being terrified by the declaration of France on the behalf of the Dutch; and with a resolution, if they could not persuade Holland to separate from that conjunction, and make a peace apart with the king, (which they laboured by their ambassador the count of Dhona to the States,) to join their interest frankly to that of his majesty, and to run the hazard and expect the issue and event of the war.

1031 The two ambassadors were Flemming and Coyet, both senators in the great council of Sweden, and men of prime authority there: the former of the greater place and esteem, being a nobleman of an ancient and noble extraction of a family in Scotland, that had lived through many descents in Sweden in great employment and lustre; and this man never dissembled a particular devotion to the king, and for that reason principally was designed to this negotiation. The other was not so well born or bred, or of so cheerful a complexion, but a more thinking and melancholic man, more conversant in books, and more versed in the course and forms of business; and by

his own virtue and humble industry had from a mean and low birth, which in those northern kingdoms is the highest disadvantage, by degrees ascended to the degree of a senator, which is the chiefest qualification; and had gotten his first credit and reputation by a negotiation he was intrusted with in Holland, and a treaty well managed by him there: which made him liable in that court to be much inclined to the Dutch, and to have some particular friendship with De Wit, they having studied together in Leyden when they were young; and their familiarity after was improved to a good correspondence in that negotiation in Holland.

1032 This being well known and commonly spoken of there, Mr. Coventry endeavoured to prevent his designation to that employment, by speaking to the chancellor of that kingdom, who always received him with open arms, and gave good testimony of his hearty and passionate desire of a firm conjunction between the two crowns; and, though he was of a French extraction, had a full jealousy of the want of sincerity and justice of that nation. When he discovered the apprehension Mr. Coventry had, he persuaded him to acquiesce in his judgment rather than to credit common rumour: "that he well knew both, and had contributed to the election of both, who were very fit to be joined together in an employment of this nature, the gaiety and warmth of the one standing in need sometimes of the phlegm of the other, who would yet pay that reverence to him that was due to his superior quality; and that he was too good a Swede to have inclinations to the Dutch, how much conversation soever he had with them. In a word, he would pass his word;" which put an end to all further doubts: and it was well enough known, that he had been raised by and was a creature of the chancellor.

1033 And in truth, from the time of their arrival in England he carried himself very fairly, and without any visible

inclination to the Dutch, and much less to the French ; and they both very frankly declared to those of the king's ministers with whom they conferred with intimacy, " that that crown would gladly be separated from them, if a good expedient might be found to make them no losers by it." Yet it is as true, that after they had been some months in England, and saw in how ill a posture the king was for the carrying on the war, and how far the parliament was from giving money, or from any reasonable compliance with his majesty's desires, Coyet did not concur with the same warmth in his despatches, with Flemming, into Sweden ; but writ apart to the ministers there, " that they must take new measures, and not depend upon a conjunction with England, to which, how well soever the king was inclined, he would not be able to bear the part they expected, by reason that he had no power with the parliament ;" which letters his majesty's agent then in Sweden had a sight of: which produced no other effect there, but [a resolution], that if they saw that either the king was inclined to a peace, or would be reduced to a necessity to treat, the ambassadors should offer in the name of their master his interposition, which their ministers in France and Holland should then likewise make proffer of, upon advertisement first from them, but with a secret assurance to the king, " that if a treaty should not take effect," (which it could hardly be believed it would do,) " the crown of Sweden would firmly unite itself to his majesty's interest, and engage in the war with him ;" which it was evident they were more inclined to, than to a peace in which France might be comprehended. But that which they most desired was, that a peace might be made with the Dutch without comprehending France, in which they would willingly enter, which would draw Spain and all the princes of Germany to desire to be admitted for their own security.

1034 The Conde de Molina was ambassador from Spain, near

the king, a man rather sincere than subtile, and so had the more need of the advice and assistance of the baron of Isola, who was, under the title of envoy from the emperor, entirely trusted and supported (as most of the emperor's ministers were) by the king of Spain; who being a Burgundian, born in those parts which remain subject to Spain, had an implacable hatred to the French; and by the employments he had undergone in Italy and other places, where he had been ambassador, had made himself so considerable, that he was become notoriously odious to the French, and was a man of great experience and very subtile parts. Both those ministers did heartily wish a peace between England and Holland, with the exclusion of France: but if that could not be, they had much rather the war should continue as it was, than that France should be comprehended in the peace; for which they had some reason. For at this time the king of Spain died, which they had too many reasons to believe would put an end to the quiet of Flanders; and therefore would be glad that they might have the assistance of England for their defence, and in which Holland could not think itself unconcerned. The probability of this, and the constant intelligence they received from the Hague, "that there were already jealousies grown up between the French and the Dutch," persuaded them, and they endeavoured to persuade the king, "that Holland might be now induced to treat by themselves; or if they could not do that, but must proceed jointly with France, they would upon assurance of the king's affection sever themselves from them, if they insisted upon any thing that was not for the joint benefit of all." The king left them to do what they thought fit towards it, without undertaking any thing on his part until their fair intentions were discerned, and then to assure them of his majesty's inclinations to peace upon just and honourable conditions.

1035 There is no doubt, there was a real jealousy and dissatisfaction between France and Holland at this time. The Dutch complained, "that the French had broken their promise with them no less this year than they had done the last: they had indeed declared and proclaimed a war, but they had done no acts of hostility; and whereas they were engaged that their fleet should have joined with theirs in the month of May, they had never been in view but at a great distance, and suffered the Dutch to fight so many days together without any help from them. And upon their renewed promise, they had again carried out their fleet to meet with them in August; when they failed again, and left them exposed to the whole English fleet: so that they were compelled with some loss to get again into their harbours." And now they had a real apprehension, that they might treat with England apart, and leave them to support the war at sea by themselves, whilst they pursued their expedition against Flanders upon the death of the king of Spain.

1036 On the other side, France as much complained of the proceedings of the Dutch: "that after they had received a great sum of money from them, without which they could not have set out their fleet, they no more cared for a conjunction with their ships, nor went to that length at sea which they were bound to, to join with them; which they might have done, if they had continued their course when they put to sea in the beginning of June. Instead of which they went over to the coast of England to find the English, confessing thereby, that they had no need of the assistance of the French ships; but leaving [them] to shift for themselves. And afterwards, in the end of August, they came not to the place they had promised to have done; by reason of which neglect and breach of faith, if a singular act of Providence had not prevented it, their whole fleet had fallen into the hands of the English, as some part of it did." But that which made them likewise

willing that this war should be at an end was, that now, the king of Spain being dead, they might enter upon a war with Spain; towards which they prepared manifestos to publish upon the matter of their right, and already prepared levies of men, of which they could pretend no other use: yet they professed to the Spanish ambassador to have no such design in their purposes. However, they would not enter upon any treaty apart without the Dutch: nor would De Wit, who entirely governed the councils of Holland, be induced to consent to any overtures made to separate, before or in the treaty, from France; but [gave information] of whatsoever was proposed by the baron of Isola, or the Spaniard, or any other person, to that purpose, and enlarged upon that information more than was true, to endear his own punctuality.

- 1037 The mother of the king was then at Paris, having chosen rather to reside there than in England, since she saw the resolution of a war between them, and desired nothing more than to be an instrument in the composing those differences, which she thought were not good for either of the crowns; and found now another style in that court than it had used to discourse in, and from the time of the news of the death of the king of Spain, that the French king had spoken as if he wished a peace with England: whereupon, about the time when the parliament was prorogued, the earl of St. Alban's came to London, as to look to the queen's affairs, of which he was the great intendant. He informed the king "of the good temper the French court was in, and that he was confident, if his majesty would make any advance towards [a peace], the queen would be able to dispose that king to hearken to it, and to be a mediator between England and Holland; and either to draw them to consent to what was just, or to separate from them: and he thought it very reasonable, that the conditions should be referred to the king of France, who he was sure, upon such a trust,

would be very careful of the king's honour and interest." He professed "to have no authority for any thing he proposed, from the French king or any of his ministers, but from the queen's conjectures and his own observation: and if the king would give him a commission, he would presently return, and would not be known to have any powers, till he should find such a conjuncture to own it, as [that] the peace should be concluded before there should be any discourse of a treaty, (which he knew the French most desired,) lest Spain might interpose to perplex or delay it." And therefore he proposed, "that he might carry instructions with him, upon what conditions the king would be willing that a peace should be established." His majesty was resolved never to make the French king arbitrator of the conditions of the peace, nor that it should be treated at Paris; and most of all, that the earl of St. Alban's should not have any power to treat, "who," the king always used to say, "was more a French than an English man:" and he likewise resolved, "that no overture should be made towards peace in his name."

1038 Whilst this was in suspense, the earl received letters from Paris, in which he was advised "to return thither with power to treat, and with information what conditions the king expected; for that his most Christian majesty had so prepared the Dutch, that he should have present power to treat and conclude; and so all things might be settled before the formality of a treaty should be entered into or heard of." This did not alter the king's resolution against authorizing the earl to treat, or making Paris the place of the treaty. But because the letters were written by monsieur Ruvigny, who was a person well known to the king, and of whom he had a good opinion, and whom he well knew to be too wary a man to write in that manner without having good authority to do so; his majesty was contented "that the earl should make haste to Paris; and if he found by Ruvigny that what they proposed was



really desired, he should undertake to know that the king was very well inclined to peace, and that himself would willingly confer with any body he would carry him to; and whatsoever should be proposed, he would with all possible expedition transmit it to the king:" with this further direction, "that if he were satisfied that their intentions were real, which the alterations in their own affairs made probable, he should endeavour, by the queen or Ruvigny, to discover whether it would not be possible to persuade that king to treat apart and exclude Holland; and if it appeared to him that was not to be hoped, that at least his majesty would think it reasonable, that the Dutch should restore whatsoever fort or other place they had taken upon the coast of Guinea, and likewise pay a good sum of money to the king towards the charge of the war."

1039 The earl of St. Alban's had no mind to return with no larger a commission, and pretended to know "that this was not the way to advance a treaty, and that he could as well write what the king directed, and know again by letter what they thought of it; and therefore he would stay and despatch the business which the queen sent him about, before he would return." But when he saw the king was contented he should stay, rather than have nothing to do in the treaty, he chose to be at the beginning of it, and thought he should not be afterwards left out; and so offered the king to depart without further delay.

1040 The king had from the beginning informed the chancellor of all that the earl had said to him from his arrival: and when he had received those letters from Ruvigny, he sent him to shew them to him; and himself came presently whilst the earl was there, and directed him to prepare the instructions for him, which the earl likewise desired he might do. The chancellor very well knew, that his credit with the king was much lessened, and that of the lord Arlington much increased, who did not like that

he should meddle in the affairs proper to his office: besides he had no mind to be intrusted in the transactions with France, of whose want of faith he had too much experience; which would neither be grateful to the queen mother nor to the earl. And therefore he very earnestly besought the king, "that, it being the lord Arlington's province, all those despatches might pass through his hands." The king said, "that he knew the lord Arlington desired his help, and that he should prepare all those despatches," which he required him to do: and the earl of St. Alban's seemed very much to desire, "that not only his instructions might be prepared by him, but that he might always receive his majesty's pleasure signified by him, upon any material point that should arise;" which the king promised him he should do. Upon which the other, who durst not decline those commands he was so unwilling to obey, humbly desired his majesty, "that the whole matter might be first communicated to that committee of the council with which he consulted his most secret affairs; and that the earl of St. Alban's might be present at the debate; and that whatever he should be appointed to put into writing might be perused at that board, and if it required his majesty's signature, it should be presented to him by the secretary:" all which his majesty consented to. And all being done according to what is mentioned before, the earl departed for France.

1041 It is very true, there was yet no visible alteration in the king's confidence towards the chancellor with reference to his business, in which his majesty had no reserve, and spent as much time with him, and vouchsafed as often to go to his house, as he had ever used to do. But when he offered to speak to him of other matters, as he could not forbear to do, which he thought concerned him more than his most public transactions; he found his countenance presently shut, no attention, and no answer, or such a one as shewed he was not pleased: and he took all

occasions to make others see, that he was advised only by him in what immediately related to his business, and not more in that than by other men.

1042 When the earl came to Paris, he found the French less upon their guard than he expected: and the king himself frankly expressed himself “to wish an end of this war, and that he might be possessed of the king’s friendship, which he valued exceedingly; and referred to monsieur Lionne, “who,” his majesty said, “was prepared to speak to him.” Monsieur de Lionne kept himself within generals, “of the benefit that England would receive by a peace, which made his Christian majesty desire to promote it, and never more to depart from his friendship. That he was obliged in honour now not to quit the Dutch, having entered into a treaty with them when he had no imagination that there would be a war between them and England; that he had been often sorry for it, and had given them just occasion to complain, that he forbore longer than he ought to have done to give them help: and therefore he could not now leave them to themselves, except they were obstinate, and refused to make peace upon just conditions; and then he would renounce them.” But when he found that the earl had no power, and that he talked of money to be given for the charge of the war, and expected to have particular overtures to send to the king; he brake off the discourse till he could confer with his master.

1043 Within two or three days monsieur de Lionne visited the earl, and told him, “that if any thing were to be done towards a peace, there must be no time lost: it was yet in the power of the most Christian king to bring it to pass upon just and honourable terms; but he knew not how long it would continue in his power; for he confessed the Dutch took themselves to be so much behindhand, that they had no mind to peace, believing they had now advantage. That it was never heard of, that after a war between two nations, upon the making peace, either side

consented to pay the charge of the war: therefore any expectation of that, or but mention of it, would shut the door against any treaty." He gave two papers to him to send to the king, both under his own hand, which his majesty had the choice of, and which the Dutch would consent to; "but if [that] should be required, the treaty was at an end before it was begun, and the sword must determine it."

<sup>1044</sup> One of the papers contained an equivalent, of which his majesty might make his choice; whether "all things should continue in the state and posture in which they were at present, either side enjoying what they had got, and sustaining what they had lost, and so all things to remain as they were before the war;" or, "that a true and just computation should be made of the losses on both sides, and they who were found to have received most damage should be repaired at the charge of the other." The other paper was, "that if his majesty approved of either of these expedients, he should himself make choice of the place where the treaty should be, whither all parties should send their ambassadors:" but then the French king desired, "that his majesty would not make choice of any place in the king of Spain's dominions;" and the Dutch ambassador there had nominated Cologne or Francfort or Hamburgh. And the earl of St. Alban's immediately sent away an express with those two papers to the king, upon receipt whereof the council were summoned.

<sup>1045</sup> There was no hope of money, which some, not reasonably, had expected should be paid whenever a peace should be made; and it had been mentioned in Holland as a thing they expected should be propounded, it may be, that it might be propounded and rejected. Then the despatch of whatsoever should be agreed concerned the king very much, that the Dutch might not put to sea, nor discover that the king had no fleet to set out; for the spring was not yet come, though approaching. There appeared little

difficulty in the choice of the equivalent, for the English had taken much more from the Dutch than they had taken from England; and the other computation would be endless, and liable to very difficult examinations: so that by an unanimous advice the king resolved to choose the first equivalent.

1046 But then the place for the treaty was not so easy to be chosen. The most natural had been Brussels, Antwerp, or some other large city in Flanders, which were all neutral places, and to which all parties might repair with the same ease and security. Whereas all the places mentioned in Germany were at so great a distance, that the summer would be far entered into, and so, many acts of hostility pass, before the ambassadors could meet; and the English must pass through the enemy's country thither: therefore there could be no thought of any of those places. Then the king of France had taken upon him to exclude Flanders, which he had no power to do, and it was as desirable to the Dutch as to the king: and therefore it was thought reasonable, that the king should insist upon some good town there, of which there was choice enough; and if Holland should approve it, France could not reject it. But on the other hand it was clearly discerned, that France would never send ambassadors into a country which he meant at the same time to invade; and that his majesty knew very well to be the intention, and the ground of that king's desiring the peace, which it was plain enough the Dutch did not desire, and were only drawn to consent to a treaty by the positive demand of France, which they durst not contradict: and therefore it concerned the king to preserve that good disposition, and that the French ambassadors might come fully instructed to concur with the English in what should be just, and prevent any insolent carriage of the Dutch, or the Dane, who was likewise to have his ambassadors upon the place.

<sup>1047</sup> Upon those reasons the express returned with his majesty's consent and election of the first equivalent, and "that as soon as he should know that the Dutch had consented to it, his majesty would propose some equal place for the treaty." And as soon as the express was despatched, his majesty entered upon the debate of a fit place for the treaty; and said, "that he had a proposition then made to him by sir William Coventry, that was of such a nature as much surprised him, as he believed it would the lords; yet he had not thought enough to dislike or condemn it:" and so bade the other to propose it. He, with some short apology which he did not use to make, said, "that he perceived there would be little less difficulty in agreeing upon a place for the treaty than upon any doubts which might arise in it; for if the king of France was to be gratified in the exclusion of Flanders, it would be very inconvenient to oblige the king to send into Germany, which by the great delay would deprive the king of the greatest benefit he expected from the treaty; the speedy despatch whereof would be attended with the greatest conveniences: therefore he had proposed to the king, that he would immediately write to the States General without acquainting France with it, and offer to send his ambassadors to treat the peace at the Hague, that it might be speedily concluded, which would otherwise take up much time in sending for any resolution to the States upon what should arise. If they consented to it, it would probably be attended with success, the general affection of the people being well known to desire peace: and if they refused it, the world would conclude that they would have no peace, when they would not treat about it; and that his majesty would never have done them the honour to have sent his ambassadors home to them, if he had intended to deny any thing that was reasonable to them."

<sup>1048</sup> It was very new, and thought of by nobody but the

lord Arlington [and sir William Coventry], who had communicated it together; and the objection of the condescension that it would seem to most men, as if the king sent to beg a peace at their own doors, was obvious to all men: but that would have been [an] objection against admitting it to have been at Paris. But the States not [being] upon any level that pretended to an equality, the probable convenience or benefit that might attend it was only to be considered; and the affection and desire of the people generally to peace was so notorious, that there was reason to believe that they would not be willing that a treaty begun amongst them should end but with effect: and therefore it was unanimously agreed, that the advice should be pursued. But then it was a new doubt, how the message or overture or letter, for the form was not yet thought of, should be conveyed; for the sending a trumpet or express had much more of application than the thing itself: and it was to be wished, that it might be gone out of the king's hands before the answer could come from Paris, lest new instance should be made for a particular place.

1049 It was at last resolved, that the Swedes ambassadors (both France and Holland having accepted the mediation of that crown) should be consulted with, to engage their minister at the Hague to deliver [it] to the States General; for there was some apprehension, that if De Wit knew of it, it might be considered only by that committee which was deputed for that affair, and never be brought to the States: and the adjusting all that was commended to the chancellor, who presently sent for the ambassadors, and found them very ready to perform any office which might bring them upon the stage in the treaty. And upon communication together, they were willing to send a servant of their own to the Hague, who should deliver to their ambassador the king's message to the States General, as an effect of their mediation and credit with

the king. And so it was delivered, not in the form of a letter, but of a message in the third person to the States General, signed by the king and under the signet; and the ambassadors sent a gentleman in post with it.

1050 But within two days a new alarm comes from France; and all that was done proved to be to no purpose. When they received the king's answer, they could not but acknowledge that it was as fair as they could expect; and monsieur de Lionne shewed it as such to the Dutch ambassador, who finding that he was satisfied with it, and by him, that the king was so too, fell into much passion, and declared, "that it was not according to the consent he had given to the king and to monsieur de Lionne; and that he must protest against any treaty to be entered into upon this declaration." He put him then in mind, "that he had informed the king, in his presence, that there was an article in the late treaty between England and Holland, by which they were obliged to deliver up the island of Poleroone in the East Indies to the East India company of London, which they had formerly consented to with Cromwell, but had neither delivered it then nor yet, and were resolved rather to continue the war than to part with it; which he had declared, when with reference to all other things he consented to the alternative: and if the king would [not] release that article of the former treaty, his masters would not enter upon any new."

1051 Whether this was true or no cannot be known. But monsieur de Lionne came in great disorder to the lord of St. Alban's, and told him all that the ambassador had said, and confessed it "to be very true, and that the king remembered it well, and promised that article should be released: but that he, not clearly understanding the delivery of it to be contained in a former treaty, and knowing it had been many years in the possession of the Dutch, and that it still remained so, thought it had been comprehended in the alternative, and forgot to insert it



in the paper that was sent to the king, for which he asked a thousand pardons ; and made it his suit to the king that he would yield to it, and that a treaty that was so necessary to the good of Christendom might not be extinguished upon his negligence and want of memory :” which was a strange excuse for a minister of his known sagacity.

1052 The earl of St. Alban’s refused to transmit any such tergiversation to the king, and said, “ he knew the king would never consent to it ; and that this manner of proceeding, after that his majesty had consented to what themselves proposed, would shut out all future confidence of their sincerity.” Monsieur de Lionne was exceedingly troubled and out of countenance, as a man conscious to himself of a great oversight, and desired him, “ that he would meet the Dutch ambassador at his lodging, that they might together endeavour to remove him from the obstinacy he professed ;” which the earl was contented to do, and the ambassador, how unwilling soever, was prevailed with to meet at the time appointed : but they were no sooner met, and monsieur de Lionne entered upon the argument of Poleroone, but the ambassador fell into a rude passion, and said, “ the war should determine it.” And when the earl of St. Alban’s began to speak of the unreasonableness of the demand, and entered upon the foul manner in which they had first taken that island from the English, who were in possession of it ; he told him, “ that he had nothing to say to him,” and used much other language unfit for the other to hear, and [which] he had returned with interest, if monsieur de Lionne had not interposed, and been very desirous the conference should end, the ambassador’s insolence being not to be endured. And so they parted, Lionne seeming very much offended ; and he complained to the king, and the earl gave the account of all to his majesty.

1053 The French king was no less surprised and offended

when he heard what message the king had sent to the States, (which he was advertised of by an express from Holland,) than De Wit had been at the delivery of it, who presently knew the drift of it, and could not forbear to tell the States, "that the design was only to stir up the people against the magistrates, and indeed to make them the judges of the conditions of the peace:" and he knew well that the people generally were no friends to the East India company, (where himself had a great stock, and therefore would never consent that a treaty entered into should break only upon their interest; which likewise was the reason, why they had provided that that particular should be first consented to, before any treaty should be agreed upon. And hereupon he prevailed upon the States General forthwith to declare in the negative, "that the treaty should not be at the Hague." But at the same time, after the naming again of Cologne and Francfort, they added, "that if the king desired to do them the honour to appoint it in any place of their dominions, which they did not presume to propose, they should consent that it might be at Breda, or Maestricht," or a place or two that they named: and this was resolved before the people heard that the king had named the Hague, and wondered and murmured at their refusal.

1054 The king of France took it ill, that at a time when he proceeded with so much openness, and had given the first rise to a treaty, and opened the door which the Hollander peevishly shut against it, by his own offering the alternative, which the king had so far approved as to make his election; he should at the same time, without communicating it to him, send this overture to the Hague: which troubled him the more, that it gave him matter of jealousy to apprehend, that there was some other underhand treaty that was concealed from him, and contrived by the baron of Isola, who he knew had been privately at the Hague, and had conference with De Wit. And the

same imagination did more perplex the queen mother and the earl of St. Alban's, who looked upon this as a device to exclude them from having any share in the peace; the earl having digested the conclusion in his own breast, that in what place soever the treaty should be held, he should without doubt be intrusted in the managery of it. However the king could not own his part of the dislike, since his majesty might without any violation of friendship make the overture by message to the Hague, as well as to or by him: therefore he seemed to take no exception to it, and only sent the king word, "that he believed the Dutch would quickly discern, that this condescension in his majesty proceeded from some expectation of a party amongst the people to second it; and therefore he was confident they would never consent to treat at the Hague." But he proposed, "as the best way for expedition, that it might be at Dover," which he advised his majesty not to reject: "for if it were once begun there, it might possibly, and he would further it all he could, quickly be removed to Canterbury, and probably might be concluded in London."

1055 But before this message arrived, the other new demand of Poleroone, with monsieur de Lionne's acknowledgment of the defect of his memory, and that he ought to have inserted it in the paper that contained the alternative, with all the excuses he made for it, was received; which seemed to put an end to all hopes of peace. The king was highly incensed, and looked upon it as an affront contrived by both parties to amuse him. Every body concluded, that there could be no safety in depending upon any thing that could be offered from France, when they could never be without as reasonable a pretence as they had at present, to disclaim or avoid any concession they had made in writing:—that the particular demanded could never be consented to by his majesty, without swerving from the common rules of justice, and the viola-

tion of his own honour :—that though it did not immediately concern his majesty in his own interest and the interest of the crown, which was an argument used in France for his majesty's not insisting upon it, it was however an unquestionable and a very considerable interest of his subjects, which he was in justice bound to maintain, and which in justice he had no power to release. It was an interest so valuable, that Cromwell had insisted upon it so resolutely, that they had consented to it as a principal article of the peace he made with them ; by which he gained great reputation with the people. And his majesty had thought himself so much concerned in honour not to suffer his subjects to be deprived of that right which Cromwell had vindicated, (though by his death it came not to be executed,) that he would never consent to the treaty that had been concluded since his happy return, until they consented to and renewed the same article, and promised the redelivery of the said island to the English by such a day : and their having broken their faith in not delivering it according to the last treaty, and with very offensive circumstances, his majesty had declared to be a principal cause of the war, and made them unquestionably to appear the first aggressor. And in that respect, his honour could not receive a more mortal wound than in releasing that article, which concerned the estates of other men, and would in the opinion of the world draw the guilt of the war upon himself, or, which would be as bad, the reproach of having purchased a peace upon very dishonourable conditions to himself, at the charge and with the estates of his subjects.

1056 Upon the whole, the king resolved rather to undergo the hazard of the war, upon what disadvantage soever, than to consent to a proposition so dishonourable : and a despatch was presently sent to the earl of St. Alban's, with a very lively resentment " of the indignity offered to the king in receding from what was offered by them-

selves, and in asking what he was resolved never to grant." And all were enjoined to review all that had been resolved for the war, and to give the utmost advancement to it that could be possible: and without doubt, if Spain had yet put itself into any posture to defend itself against the power that was even ready to invade it, and to act any part towards the support of a common interest, the king would hardly have been persuaded to have hearkened more to any proposition from France.

1057 Notwithstanding all this, new overtures and new importunities were sent from France. "It was true, that the Dutch had always protested against making a peace or consenting to a treaty without the release of Poleroone; which his Christian majesty had consented to, and could not recede from it without their consent, though the mention of it had been unfortunately omitted by monsieur de Lionne: but his majesty promised and engaged his royal word, that when the treaty should be entered into, he would use all his credit and authority to persuade the States General to recede from their obstinacy, and to make no alteration in the last treaty; but that all things [should] remain as had been settled by it. And if he could not prevail with them to satisfy him therein, as he did fear that there was upon their particular interest some peremptory resolution fixed, from whence they would not be removed as to the main; yet in that case he did in no degree despair of obliging them to give a considerable sum of money for recompense thereof, which he desired might satisfy the king, who would find himself at much ease by it. And if the commissioners once met and the treaty was begun, it would not be dissolved before a peace should be concluded; and that the French ambassadors, as soon as they met, should propose a cessation from all acts of hostility, which he expected

should be as soon yielded to as proposed ; and that already they had promised that their fleet should remain in their harbours till the middle of May, before which time the treaty might well begin." And from the present time the French king promised, "that no hostile act should be done by him, and that his own fleet should not stir out of their port ; and that his ambassadors should in all things behave themselves as his majesty could wish, that particular only of Poleroone [excepted], in which they should do as he had promised."

1058 The king had by this time had recourse to all the inventions and devices, which might yet enable him to set out a fleet that might be able to fight the enemy ; but in vain. He found all men of the same opinion they had been, that he must be upon the defensive in the manner expressed before, and expect the end of the summer before he could draw his ships together ; and that there was an universal impatience for peace : so that when the warmth of his indignation was a little remitted, he was very willing to hear any thing that might revive the hope of a treaty, when this last overture from Paris arrived ; upon which he presently convened the council, that he might take a speedy resolution what he was to do, for he saw many conveniences might be lost by the not speedily entering upon the treaty, if it were to be entered upon at all. The protestation and promise of France to assist in all things, that particular only excepted, for his majesty's service, and his promise even in that, made him willing to believe that they might be real : the hope of recompense for it seemed little inferior to the redelivery of the island, and was an equal satisfaction to his majesty's honour. And it seemed the more probable to be compassed, in that De Wit in his private conference with the baron of Isola, in all his passion, in which he would not endure the mention of the delivery of Poleroone, and said, "that

the States would perish before they would part with it," concluded, "that he would not say, that they might not be persuaded to give some recompense for it."

1059 And many believed that the East India company, which was only concerned in the interest of it, would choose rather to receive a good recompense than the island itself, which was a barren, sandy soil, which yielded no fruit, but only nutmegs, which was the sole commodity it bore, and is a commodity of great value. But when they were bound to give it up to Cromwell, there had been immediate order sent to cut down all the trees upon the island; which order would be now again repeated: and so no less than seven years must expire before any fruit could be expected from thence. And it was so far from any English factory, and so near to the Dutch, that they would easily possess themselves of it again when they had a mind to it. And therefore if the company might have money, or such a quantity of nutmegs delivered to them, as might, besides being enough for the expense of England, bear a part in the foreign trade, (which had been mentioned by some merchants of that company,) it might be reasonably preferable to the island.

1060 Whatsoever resolution should in the end be taken, this expedient of recompense gave a hint to a counsel that had not been yet thought of, which was to leave the business of Poleroone to the sole managery of the East India company, who should be advised to choose some members of their own, who should go over with the ambassadors, and receive all advice and assistance from them in the conduct of their pretences: and they would be the witnesses of what the king insisted upon on their behalf; and would likewise judge, if nothing prevented the peace but that interest, how far it should be insisted on.

1061 The East India company was sent for, and were told, "that the king had hope of a treaty for peace, which he presumed would be welcome to them: he heard that the

greatest difficulty and obstruction that was like to arise would be concerning their interest in the island of Pole-roone, which he was resolved never to abandon. But because he heard likewise that the Dutch did intend to offer a recompense rather than to restore the place, and that the recompense might be such as might be as agreeable to them, (of which he would not take upon him to judge, but leave it entirely to themselves,) he had given them this timely notice of it, that they might bethink themselves what was fit for them to do, upon a prospect of all that might probably occur; and that they might make choice of such persons amongst themselves, who best understood their affairs, to the end that when the treaty should be agreed upon and the place appointed, and his majesty had resolved what ambassadors he would send, (of all which they should have seasonable notice,) those persons elected by them as their commissioners [might] go over with the ambassadors; that when that point came into debate, and the Dutch should call some of their East India company to inform them, they likewise might be ready to advertise his ambassadors of whatsoever might advance their pretences: and if a recompense was to be considered, they might enter into that consultation with the other deputies; and that they should be sure to receive all the advice and assistance from his ambassadors that they could require or stand in need of." The company received this information from his majesty with all demonstration of duty and submission, giving humble thanks for his majesty's bounty and care of their interest; and said, "they would not fail to make choice of a committee to attend the ambassadors, when they should know it would be seasonable."

1062 The king thought it now time to receive the advice of his whole council-board upon this affair, which had been hitherto only debated before the committee for foreign affairs: and so [they] being assembled, an account was



given of all that had passed, with all its circumstances, in France and in Holland, by the baron of Isola, and by the Swedes ambassadors. And his majesty said thereupon, “that he had yet taken no resolution, and had been so provoked by the miscarriage of France, that he would have been glad to have put himself into a better posture, and not thought further of a treaty, till there should appear a more favourable conjuncture: but they now understood as much as he did, with reference to the state he was in both at home and abroad, and that he was resolved to follow their advice.”

1063 All the objections which had been foreseen before, and the considerations thereupon, were renewed and again debated: and in the end there was a general concurrence, “that his majesty should embrace the opportunity of a treaty; and if a reasonable peace could be obtained, it would be very grateful to the whole kingdom, that was weary of the war; and that his majesty should lose no time in returning such a despatch to Paris as might bring on the treaty.” And some of the lords proceeded so far as to declare, “that the consideration of Poleroone was not of that importance, nor could be thought so by the East India company themselves, as that the insisting upon it should deprive the kingdom of a peace that was so necessary for it.” But the king thought the entering upon that argument was not yet seasonable: but he gave order for the despatch to be prepared for France.

1064 There were two material points not yet determined, the first of which was fit to be inserted into the present despatch; which was the nomination of the place where the treaty should be. Some were of opinion, “that his majesty should [lay] hold of the overture that had been made from France, which was since likewise confirmed by Holland, that the treaty should be at Dover:” but they changed their minds, when they well considered that the same objections would be naturally made against

Dover on the king's behalf, that had been made by the Dutch against the Hague ; and that the people there, and less at Canterbury, were not incapable of any impressions, which the numerous trains of the French and the Dutch would be ready to imprint in them. In a word, there was much more fit to be considered upon that point than is fit to be remembered. The conclusion was, " that Breda, which had been offered by the Dutch, should be the place the king would accept ;" which was added to the despatch for Paris, and presently sent away.

1065 The other matter undetermined of was the choice of ambassadors, which had been never entered upon. The king had spoken with the chancellor, what persons would be fit to be employed in that negotiation, when the time should be ripe for it ; and took notice, as he did frequently, of the small choice he had of men well acquainted with business of that nature : upon which he had named to the king the lord Hollis, who had been lately ambassador in France, and was in all respects equal to any business, and Mr. Henry Coventry of his bedchamber, who had shewed so great abilities in his late negotiation in Sweden. Upon the naming of whom his majesty said, " they were both very fit, and that he would think of no other : " so that when all other particulars were adjusted with reference to the treaty, the king, without further consulting it, declared, " that he intended to send those two his ambassadors for the treaty," before either of them knew or thought of the employment. And when his majesty told them of it, he bade them repair to the chancellor for their instructions. And this gave new thoughts of heart to the lord Arlington, who had designed himself and sir Thomas Clifford, who was newly made a privy counsellor and controller of the household upon the death of sir Hugh Pollard, for the performance of that service ; and thought himself the better qualified for it by his late alliance in Holland, by his marriage with the daughter of

monsieur Beverwaert, a natural son of prince Maurice. And this disappointment went very near him ; though the other had not the least thought that he had any such thing in his heart, but advised it purely as [they were] the fittest persons who could be thought of ; and their abilities, which were well thought of before, were very notorious in this negotiation.

1066 The Swedish ambassadors, who were the only mediators, prepared likewise to go to the treaty, having agreed with the king, “that if the treaty should not produce a peace,” of which they who hoped most were not confident, “that crown would immediately declare for the king, and unite itself to his interest both against the Dutch and the French ;” their army at that time, being held the best in Europe, under the command of their general Wrangel, being near the States’ dominions. And for the better confirming them in that disposition, the chancellor had brought the baron of Isola to a conference with the Swedes ambassadors, and begun that treaty between them which was shortly after finished, and known by the style of the Triple Alliance, that was the first act that detached the Swede from France : and for the present the king himself found means to supply the crown of Sweden with a sum of money for the support of their army.

1067 All things being thus adjusted, and the place of the treaty being on all hands agreed to be Breda, and notice being sent from Paris, “that their ambassadors were departed from thence ;” the king thought himself as much concerned in the expedition in respect of the cessation, which the French promised to obtain in the very entrance into the treaty ; and it was now the month of May. And so his ambassadors were despatched, and arrived there before the middle of that month, with an equipage worthy their master who sent them.

1068 There happened at this time an accident that made a

fatal breach into the chancellor's fortune, with a gap wide enough to let in all that ruin which soon after was poured upon him. The earl of Southampton, the treasurer, with whom he had an entire fast friendship, and who, when they were together, had credit enough with the king and at the board to prevent, at least to defer, any very unreasonable resolution, was now ready to expire with the stone; a disease that had kept him in great pain many months, and for which he had sent to Paris for a surgeon to be cut, but had deferred it too long by the physicians not agreeing what the disease was: so that at last he grew too weak to apply that remedy. They who had with so much industry, and as they thought certainty, prevailed with the king at Oxford to have removed him from that office, had never since intermitted the pursuing the design, and persuaded his majesty, "that his service had suffered exceedingly by his receding from his purpose;" and did not think their triumph notorious enough, if they suffered him to die in the office: insomuch as when he grew so weak, that it is true he could not sign any orders with his hand, which was four or five days before his death, they had again persuaded the king to send for the staff. But the chancellor again prevailed with him not to do so ungracious an act to a servant who had served him and his father so long and so eminently, to so little purpose as the ravishing an office unseasonably, which must within five or six days fall into his hands, as it did within less time, by his death.

1069 He was a person of extraordinary parts, of faculties very discerning and a judgment very profound, great eloquence in his delivery, without the least affectation of words, for he always spake best on the sudden. In the beginning of the troubles, he was looked upon amongst those lords who were least inclined to the court, and so most acceptable to the people: he was in truth not obliged by the court, and thought himself oppressed by it,

which his great spirit could not bear ; and so he had for some years forbore to be much seen there, which was imputed to a habit of melancholy, to which he was naturally inclined, though it appeared more in his countenance than in his conversation, which to those with whom he was acquainted was very cheerful.

1070 The great friendship that had been between their fathers made many believe, that there was a confidence between the earl of Essex and him ; which was true to that degree as could be between men of so different natures and understandings. And when they came to the parliament in the year 1640, they appeared both unsatisfied with the prudence and politics of the court, and were not reserved in declaring it, when the great officers were called in question for great transgressions in their several administrations : but in the prosecution there was great difference in their passions and their ends. The earl of Essex was a great lover of justice, and could not have been tempted to consent to the oppression of an innocent man : but in the discerning the several species of guilt, and in the proportioning the degrees of punishment to the degree of guilt, he had no faculties or measure of judging ; nor was above the temptation of general prejudice, and it may be of particular disobligations and resentments, which proceeded from the weakness of his judgment, not the malice of his nature. The earl of Southampton was not only an exact observer of justice, but so clear-sighted a discernor of all the circumstances which might disguise it, that no false or fraudulent colour could impose upon him ; and of so sincere and impartial a judgment, that no prejudice to the person of any man made him less awake to his cause ; but believed that there is "*aliquid et in hostem nefas*," and that a very ill man might be very unjustly dealt with.

1071 This difference of faculties divided them quickly in the progress of those businesses, in the beginning whereof

they were both of one mind. They both thought the crown had committed great excesses in the exercise of its power, which the one thought could not be otherwise prevented, than by [its] being deprived of it : the consequence whereof the other too well understood, and that the absolute taking away that power that might do hurt, would likewise take away some of that which was necessary for the doing good ; and that a monarch cannot be deprived of a fundamental right, without such a lasting wound to monarchy itself, that they who have most shelter from it and stand nearest to it, the nobility, could [not] continue long in their native strength, if the crown received a main. Which if the earl of Essex had comprehended, who set as great a price upon nobility as any man living did, he could never have been wrought upon to have contributed to his own undoing ; which the other knew was unavoidable, if the king were undone. So they were both satisfied that the earl of Strafford had countenanced some high proceedings, which could not be supported by any rules of justice, though the policy of Ireland, and the constant course observed in the government of [that kingdom], might have excused and justified many of the high proceedings with which he was reproached : and they who had now the advantage-ground, by being thought to be most solicitous for the liberty of the subject, and most vigilant that the same outrages might not be transplanted out of the other kingdom into this, looked upon him as having the strongest influence upon the counsels of England as well as governor of Ireland. Then he had declared himself so averse and irreconcilable to the sedition and rebellion of the Scots, that the whole nation had contracted so great an animosity against him, that less than his life could not secure them from the fears they had conceived of him : and this fury of theirs met with a full concurrence from those of the English, who could not compass their own ends without

their help. And this combination too soon drew the earl of Essex, who had none of their ends, into their party, to satisfy his pride and his passion, in removing a man who seemed to have no regard for him; for the stories, which were then made of disobligations from the earl of Strafford towards the earl of Clanrickard, were without any foundation of truth.

1072 The earl of Southampton, who had nothing of obligation, and somewhat of prejudice to some high acts of power which had been exercised by the earl of Strafford, was not unwilling that they should be so far looked into and examined, as might raise more caution and apprehension in men of great authority of the consequence of such excesses. But when he discerned irregular ways entered into to punish those irregularities, and which might be attended with as ill consequences, and that they intended to compound one great crime out of several smaller trespasses, and to use their own style, to complicate a treason out of misdemeanours, and so to take away his life for what he might be fined and imprisoned; he first dissuaded and then abhorred that exorbitance, and more abhorred it, when he found it passionately and maliciously resolved by a direct combination.

1073 From this time he and the earl of Essex were perfectly divided and separated, and seldom afterwards concurred in the same opinion: but as he worthily and bravely stood in the gap in the defence of that great man's life, so he did afterwards oppose all those invasions, which were every day made by the house of commons upon the rights of the crown, or the privileges of the peers, which the lords were willing to sacrifice to the useful humour of the other. And by this means, whilst most of the king's servants listed themselves with the conspirators in promoting all things which were ingrateful to him, this lord, who had no relation to his service, was looked upon as a courtier; and by the strength of his reason gave such a

check to their proceedings, that he became little less odious to them than the court itself; and so much the more odious, because as he was superior to their temptations, so his unquestionable integrity was out of their reach, and made him condemn their power as much as their malice.

1074 He had all the detestation imaginable of the civil war, and discerned the dismal effects it would produce, more than most other men, which made him do all he could to prevent it. But when it could not be avoided, he made no scruple how to dispose of himself, but frankly declared for the king, who had a just sense of the service he had done him, and made him then both of his privy-council and gentleman of his bedchamber, without the least application or desire of his, and when most of those who were under both those relations had chosen, as the much stronger, the rebels' side: and his receiving those obligations at that present was known to proceed more from his duty than his ambition. He had all the fidelity that God requires, and all the affection to the person of the king that his duty suggested to him was due, without any reverence for or compliance with his infirmities or weakness; which made him many times uneasy to the king, especially in all consultations towards peace, in which he was always desirous that his majesty should yield more than he was inclined to do.

1075 He was in his nature melancholic, and reserved in his conversation, except towards those with whom he was very well acquainted; with whom he was not only cheerful, but upon occasion light and pleasant. He was naturally lazy, and indulged over much ease to himself: yet as no man had a quicker apprehension or solider judgment in business of all kinds, so, when it had a hopeful prospect, no man could keep his mind longer bent, and take more pains in it. In the treaty at Uxbridge, which was a continued fatigue of twenty days, he never slept four hours in



a night, who had never used to allow himself less than ten, and at the end of the treaty was much more vigorous than in the beginning; which made the chancellor to tell the king when they returned to Oxford, "that if he would have the earl of Southampton in good health and good humour, he must give him good store of business to do."

1076 His person was of a small stature; his courage, as all his other faculties, very great; having no sign of fear or sense of danger, when he was in a place where he ought to be found. When the king had withdrawn himself from Oxford in order to his escape to the Scotch army, and Fairfax had brought his army before the town; in some debate at the council-board, there being some mention of prince Rupert with reference to his dignity in a large degree above all of the nobility, the earl of Southampton, who never used to speak indecently, used some expressions, which, being unfaithfully reported to the prince, his highness interpreted to be disrespectful towards him: whereupon he sent the lord Gerard to expostulate with him. To whom the earl without any apology related the words he had used; which being reported by him again to the prince, though they were not the same which he had been informed, yet he was not so well satisfied with them, but that he sent the same lord to him again, to tell him, "that his highness expected other satisfaction from him, and expected to meet him with his sword in his hand, and desired it might be as soon as he could, lest it might be prevented."

1077 The earl appointed the next morning, at a place well known; and being asked "what weapon he chose," he said, "that he had no horse fit for such a service, nor knew where suddenly to get one; and that he knew himself too weak to close with the prince: and therefore he hoped his highness would excuse him, if he made choice of such weapons as he could best use; and therefore he resolved to fight on foot with a case of pistols

only ;” which the prince willingly consented to. And without doubt they had met the next morning, the earl having chosen sir George Villiers for his second ; but that the lord Gerard’s coming to the earl so often, with whom he had no acquaintance, had been so much observed, that some of the lords who had been present at the debate at the board, and heard some replies which had been made, and thence concluded that ill offices had been done, watched them both so narrowly, and caused the town-gates to be shut, [that they] discovered enough, notwithstanding the denial of both parties, to prevent their meeting ; and afterwards interposed till a reconciliation was made : and the prince ever afterwards had a good respect for the earl.

1078 After the murder of the king, the earl of Southampton remained in his own house, without the least application to those powers which had made themselves so terrible, and which seemed to resolve to root out the whole party as well as the royal family ; and would not receive a civility from any of them : and when Cromwell was near his house in the country, upon the marriage of his son in those parts, and had a purpose to have made a visit to him ; upon a private notice thereof, he immediately removed to another house at a greater distance. He sent frequently some trusty person to the king with such presents of money as he could receive out of the fortune they had left to him, which was scarce enough to support him in that retirement : and after the battle of Worcester, when the rebels had set a price upon the king’s head, and denounced the most terrible judgment upon [any person], and his posterity, that should presume to give any shelter or assistance to Charles Stuart towards his escape ; he sent a faithful servant to all those persons, who in respect of their fidelity and activity were most like to be trusted upon such an occasion, that they should advertise the king, “ that he would most willingly receive him into his

house, and provide a ship for his escape.” And his majesty received this advertisement from him the day before he was ready to embark in a small vessel prepared for him in Sussex; which his majesty always remembered as a worthy testimony of his affection and courage in so general a consternation. And the earl was used to say, “that after that miraculous escape, how dismal soever the prospect was, he had still a confidence of his majesty’s restoration.”

- 1079 His own natural disposition inclined to melancholic; and his retirement from all conversation, in which he might have given some vent to his own thoughts, with the discontinuance of all those bodily exercises and recreations to which he had been accustomed, brought many diseases upon him, which made his life less pleasant to him; so that from the time of the king’s return, between the gout and the stone, he underwent great affliction. Yet upon the happy return of his majesty he seemed to recover great vigour of mind, and undertook the charge of high treasurer with much alacrity and industry, as long as he had any hope to get a revenue settled proportionable to the expense of the crown, (towards which his interest and authority and counsel contributed very much,) or to reduce the expense of the court within the limits of the revenue. But when he discerned that the last did and would still make the former impossible, (upon which he made as frequent and lively representations as he thought himself obliged to do,) and when he saw irregularities and excesses to abound, and to overflow all the banks which should restrain them; he grew more dispirited, and weary of that province, which exposed him to the reproaches which others ought to undergo, and which supplied him not with authority to prevent them. And he had then withdrawn from the burden, which he infinitely desired to be eased of, but out of conscience of his duty to the king,

who he knew would suffer in it ; and that the people who knew his affections very well, and already opened their mouths wide against the license of the court, would believe it worse and incurable if he quitted the station he was in. This, and this only, prevailed with him still to undergo that burden, even when he knew that they who enjoyed the benefit of it were as weary that he should be disquieted with it.

1080 He was a man of great and exemplary virtue and piety, and very regular in his devotions; yet was not generally believed by the bishops to have an affection keen enough for the government of the church, because he was willing and desirous, that somewhat more might have been done to gratify the presbyterians than they thought just. But the truth is; he had a perfect detestation of all the presbyterian principles, nor had ever had any conversation with their persons, having during all those wicked times strictly observed the devotions prescribed by the church of England; in the performance whereof he had always an orthodox chaplain, [one of those] deprived of their estates by that government, which disposed of the church as well as of the state. But it is very true, that upon the observation of the great power and authority which the presbyterians usurped and were possessed of, even when Cromwell did all he could to divest them of it, and applied all his interest to oppress or suppress them, insomuch as they did often give a check to and divert many of his designs; he did believe that their numbers and their credit had been much greater than in truth [they were]. And then some persons, who had credit with him by being thought to have an equal aversion from them, persuaded him to believe, that they would be satisfied with very easy concessions, which would bring no prejudice or inconvenience to the church. And this imagination prevailed with him, and more with others who loved them not, to wish that there might be some

indulgence towards them. But that which had the strongest influence upon him, and which made him less apprehensive of the venom of any other sect, was the extreme jealousy he had of the power and malignity of the Roman catholics; whose behaviour from the time of the suppression of the regal power, and more scandalously at and from the time of the murder of the king, had very much irreconciled him towards them: and he did believe, that the king and the duke of York had a better opinion of their fidelity, and less jealousy of their affections, than they deserved; and so thought there could not be too great an union of all other interests to control the exorbitance of that. And upon this argument, with his private friends, he was more passionate than in any other.

1081 He had a marvellous zeal and affection for the royal family; insomuch as the two sons of the duke of York falling both into distempers, (of which they both shortly after died,) very few days before his death, he was so marvellously affected with it, that many believed the trouble of it, or a presage what might befall the kingdom by it, hastened his death some hours: and in the agony of death, the very morning he died, he sent to know how they did; and seemed to receive some relief, when the messenger returned with the news, that they were both alive and in some degree mended.

1082 The next day after his death, which was about the end of May, the king called the chancellor into his closet; and, the duke of York being only present, told him, "that he could think of no man fit to be treasurer, and therefore resolved, as he had long done, to put that office into commission;" and then asked, "who should be commissioners:" to which he answered, "the business would be much better done by a single officer, if he could think of a fit one; for commissioners never had, never would do, that business well." The duke of York said, "that he believed it would be best done by commission; it had

been so managed during all the ill times," (for from the beginning of the troubles there had been no treasurer :) "and he had observed, (and the king found the benefit of it,) that though sir William Compton was an extraordinary person, and better qualified than most men for that charge, yet since his decease, that his majesty had put the office of the ordnance under the government of commissioners, it was in much better order, and the king was better served there than he had ever been ; and he believed he would be so likewise in the office of the treasury, if fit persons were chosen for it, who might have nothing else to do." And the king seemed to be of the same mind.

1083 The chancellor replied, "that he was very sorry, that they were both so much delighted with the function of commissioners, which were more suitable to the modelling a commonwealth, than for the support of monarchy: that during the late troubles, whilst the parliament exercised the government, they reduced it as fast as they could to the form of a commonwealth ; and then no question the putting the treasury into the hands of commissioners was much more suitable to the rest of the model, than it could be under a single person. Besides, having no revenue of their own, but being to raise one according to their inventions and proportionable to their own occasions, it could never be well collected or ordered by old officers, who were obliged to forms which would not be agreeable to their necessary transactions : so that new ministers were to be made for new employments, who might be obliged punctually to observe their new orders, without any superiority over each other, but a joint obedience to the supreme authority. But when Cromwell assumed the entire government into his own hands, he cancelled all those republican rules and forms, and appointed inferior persons to several functions, and reserved the whole disposition to himself, and was his own high treasurer :

and it was well known that he resolved, as soon as he should be able to reduce things to the forms he intended, to cancel all those commissions, and invest single persons in the government of those provinces.”

1084 He said, “he would not take upon him to say any thing of the office of the ordnance, where the commissioners were his friends; only he might say, that that kind of administration had not been yet long enough known to have a good judgment made of it: however, that it was of so different a nature from the office of the treasury, that no observation of the one could be applied to the other. The ordnance was conversant only with smiths and carpenters, and other artificers and handicraftsmen, with whom all their transactions were: whereas the treasury had much to do with the nobility and chief gentry of the kingdom; must have often recourse to the king himself for his particular directions, to the privy-council for their assistance and advice, to the judges for their resolutions in matters of difficulty; and if the ministers of it were not of that quality and degree, that they might have free recourse to all those, and find respect from them, his majesty’s service would notoriously suffer. And that the white staff itself, in the hands of a person esteemed, did more to the bringing in several branches of the revenue, by the obedience and reverence all officers paid to it, than any orders from commissioners could do: and that how mean an opinion soever some men had of the faculties of the late excellent officer for that administration, his majesty would find by experience, that the vast sums of money, which he had borrowed in these late years, had been in a great measure procured upon the general confidence all men had in the honour and justice of the treasurer; and that the credit of commissioners would never be able to supply such necessities.”

1085 The king said, “he was not at all of his opinion, and doubted not his business would be much better done by

commissioners; and therefore he should speak to the nomination of those, since he was sure he could propose no single person fit for it." To which the chancellor answered, "that he thought it much harder to find a worthy man, who would be persuaded to accept it in the disorder in which his affairs were, than a man who might be very fit for it: and that if that subject who had the greatest fortune in England and the most general reputation would receive it, his majesty would be no loser in conferring it on such a one; and till such a one might be found, he might put it into commission. But," he said, "he perceived well, that he would not approve the old course in the choice of commissioners; who had always been the keeper of the great seal, and the two secretaries of state, and two other of the principal persons of the council, besides the chancellor of the exchequer, who used to be the sole person of the quorum."

1086 [Neither] the king nor duke seemed to like any of those; and the chancellor plainly discerned from the beginning that they were resolved upon the persons, though his opinion was asked: and the king said, "he would choose such persons, whether privy counsellors or not, who might have nothing else to do, and were rough and ill-natured men, not to be moved with civilities or importunities in the payment of money; but [would] apply it all to his present necessities, till some new supplies might be gotten for the payment of those debts, which were first necessary to be paid. That he, the chancellor, had so much business already upon his hands, that he could not attend this other; and the secretaries had enough to do: so he would have none of those." And then he named sir Thomas Clifford, who was newly of the council and controller of the house, and sir William Coventry; and said, "he did not think there should be many:" and the duke then named sir John Duncombe, as a man of whom he had heard well, and every body knew he was intimate



with sir William Coventry. The king said, “he thought they three would be enough, and that a greater number would but make the despatch of all business the more slow.”

1087 The chancellor said, “he doubted those persons would not have credit and authority enough to go through the necessary affairs of that province; that for his own part, he was not desirous to meddle in it; he had indeed too much business to do: that he had no exception to the three persons named, but that he thought them not known and esteemed enough for that employment; and that it would be very incongruous to bring sir John Duncombe, who was a private country gentleman, and utterly unacquainted with business of that nature, to sit in equal authority with privy counsellors, and in affairs which would be often debated at the council-table, where he could not be present.” And he put his majesty [in mind], that “he must put the lord Ashley out of his office of chancellor of the exchequer, if he did not make him commissioner of the treasury, and of the quorum:” and concluded, “that if he did not name the general, and some other person that might give some lustre to the others, the work would not be done as it ought to be; for many persons would be sometimes obliged to attend upon the treasury, who would not think those gentlemen enough superior to them, how qualified soever.”

1088 The king said, “he could easily provide against the exception to sir John Duncombe, by making him a privy counsellor; and he did not care if he added the general to them.” The lord Ashley gave him some trouble, and he said enough to make it manifest that he thought him not fit to be amongst them: yet he knew not how to put him out of his place; but gave direction for preparing the commission for the treasury to the persons named before, and made the lord Ashley only one of the commissioners, and a major part to make a quorum; which would quickly

bring the government of the whole business into the hands of those three who were designed for it. And Ashley rather chose to be degraded than to dispute it.

1089 The king expected, that as soon as the ambassadors should meet at the Hague, a cessation would be the first thing that would be agreed upon: and the French ambassadors did in the first place propose it, and in such a manner, as made it evident that they depended upon it as a thing resolved upon; and their master had with their consent dismissed his own fleet, and theirs was yet in their ports. Nor did the Dutch seem to refuse it, but answered, "that the adjusting all things in order to a cessation would require as much time as would serve to finish the treaty, considering all material points were upon the matter already stated and agreed upon, the king having already chosen the alternative:" and notwithstanding all the earnestness used by the French ambassadors, no other answer could be obtained as to a cessation; which, together with the supercilious behaviour of the commissioners from Holland, made it apparent, that they had no other mind at that time to peace, than as they were compelled to it by France, that was impatient to have it concluded. They would not hear any mention for the redelivery of Poleroone, "which," they said, "the king of France had promised should not be demanded;" and as little for any recompense in money; nor would suffer the merchant-deputies from the English company to go to Amsterdam, to confer with the East India company there for any composition. It quickly appeared, that they had revenge in their hearts for their last year's affront and damage at the Flie; and De Wit had often said, "that before any peace they would leave some such mark of their having been upon the English coast, as the English had left of their having been upon that of Holland."

1090 After the treaty was entered into, about the beginning of June, De Ruyter came with the fleet out of the Wier-

ings, and joining with the rest from the Texel sailed for the coast of England: and having a fair wind, stood for the river of Thames; which put the county of Kent into such an alarm, that all near the sea left their houses and fled into the country. The earl of Winchelsea, who was lord lieutenant of that county, was at that time ambassador at Constantinople, and the deputy lieutenants had all equal authority: so that no man had power to command in that large county in so general a distraction. Hereupon the king sent down lieutenant general Middleton with commission to draw all the train bands together, and to command all the forces that could be raised: and he immediately went thither, and was very well obeyed, and quickly drew all the train bands of horse and foot to Rochester; and other troops resorted to him from the neighbour counties, all the people expressing a great alacrity in being commanded by him.

1091 There had been enough discourse all that year of erecting a fort at Sheerness for the defence of the river: and the king had made two journeys thither in the winter, and had given such orders to the commissioners of the ordnance for the overseeing and finishing the fortifications, that every body believed that work done; it having been the principal defence and provision directed and depended upon, (as hath been said before,) when the resolution had been taken for the standing only upon the defence for this summer. But whatever had been thought or directed, very little had been done. There were a company or two of very good soldiers there under excellent officers; but the fortifications [were] so weak and unfinished, and all other provisions so entirely wanting, that the Dutch fleet no sooner approached within a distance, but with their cannon they beat all the works flat, and drove all the men from the ground: which as soon as they had done, with their boats they landed men, and seemed resolved to fortify and keep it.

1092 This put the country into a flame, and the news of it exceedingly disturbed the king. He knew the consequence of the place, and how easily it might have been secured, and was the more troubled that it had been neglected: and with what loss soever, it must be presently recovered out of those hands. The general was immediately ordered to march to Chatham, for the security of the navy, with such troops of horse and foot as could be presently drawn together out of the guards and from the neighbour counties; and the city appeared very forward to send such regiments of their train bands as should be required. When the general came to Chatham, he found Middleton in so good a posture, and so good a body of men, that he had no apprehension of any attempt the Dutch could make at land; and he writ very cheerful and confident letters to the king and the duke, "that if the enemy should make any attempt, which he believed they durst not do, they would repent it. That he had put a chain over the river, which would hinder them from coming up: and if they should adventure to land any where, he would quickly beat them to their ships;" as no doubt he had been very well able to have done.

1093 There was indeed no danger of their landing, and they were too wise to think of it: their business was in an element they had more confidence in and more power upon. They had good intelligence how loosely all things were left in the river: and therefore, as soon as the tide came to help them, they stood full [up] the river, without any consideration of the chain, which their ships immediately brake in pieces, and passed without the least pause; there being either no such device to be made that can obstruct such an enterprise, or that which was made was so weak, that it was of no signification, but to raise an unseasonable confidence in unskilful men, that being disappointed must increase the confusion, as it did. For all men were so confounded to see the Dutch fleet advance

over the chain, which they looked upon as a wall of brass, that they knew not what they were to do.

1094 The general was of a constitution and temper so void of fear, that there could appear no signs of distraction in him: yet it was plain enough that he knew not what orders to give. There were two or three ships of the royal navy negligently, if not treacherously, left in the river, which might have been very easily drawn into safety, and could be of no imaginable use in the place where they then were: into one of those the general put himself, and invited the young gentlemen who were volunteers to accompany him; which they readily did in great numbers, only with pikes in their hands. But some of his friends whispered to him, “how unadvised that resolution was, and how desperate, without possibility of success, the whole fleet of the enemy approaching as fast as the tide would enable them.” And so he was prevailed with to put himself again on shore: which except he had done, both himself and two or three hundred gentlemen of the nobility and prime gentry of the kingdom had inevitably perished; for all those ships, and some merchantmen laden and ready to put to sea, were presently in a flame; the Dutch, knowing that they could not carry them off, giving order to burn them, the general standing upon the shore, and not knowing what remedy to apply to all this mischief. The people of Chatham, which is naturally an army of seamen and officers of the navy, who might and ought to have secured all those ships, which they had time enough to have done, were in distraction; their chief officers having applied all those boats and lighter vessels which should have towed up the ships, to carry away their own goods and household stuff, and [given] what they left behind for lost. And without doubt, if the Dutch had prosecuted the present advantage they had, with that circumspection and courage that was necessary, they might have fired the royal navy at Chatham,

and taken or destroyed all the ships which lay higher in the river, and so fully revenged themselves for what they had suffered at the Flie : but they thought they had done enough, and so made use of the ebb to carry them back again.

1095 But the noise of this, and the flame of the ships which were burned, made it easily believed in the city of London, that the enemy had done all that they conceived they might have done : they thought that they were landed in many places, and that their fleet was come up as far as Greenwich. Nor was the confusion there greater than it was in the court itself : where they who had most advanced the war, and reproached all them who had been or were thought to be against it, “ as men who had no public spirits, and were not solicitous for the honour and glory of the nation ;” and who had never spoken of the Dutch but with scorn and contempt, as a nation rather worthy to be cudgelled than fought with ; were now the most dejected men that can be imagined, railed very bitterly at those who had advised the king to enter into that war, “ which had already consumed so many gallant men, and would probably ruin the kingdom,” and wished “ that a peace, as the only hope, were made upon any terms.” In a word, the distraction and consternation was so great in court and city, as if the Dutch had not been only masters of the river, but had really landed an army of one hundred thousand men.

1096 They who remember that conjuncture, and were then present in the galleries and privy lodgings at Whitehall, whither all the world flocked with equal liberty, can easily call to mind many instances of such wild despair and even ridiculous apprehensions, that I am willing to forget, and would not that the least mention of them should remain : and if the king’s and duke’s personal composure had not restrained men from expressing their fears, there wanted not some who would have advised

them to have left the city. And there was a lord, who would be thought one of the greatest soldiers in Europe, to whom the custody of the Tower was committed, who lodging there only one night, declared, “that it was not tenable,” and desired not to be charged with it: and thereupon many, who had carried their money and goods thither, removed them from thence that they might be further from the river. Nor did this unreasonable distemper pass away, when it was known that the Dutch fleet had not only left the river, but had taken away all their men from Sheerness, which was a manifestation very sufficient that they had no design upon the land: but there remained still such a chagrin in the minds of many, as if they would return again; in which they were confirmed, when they heard that they were still upon the coasts, and gave the same alarm now to Essex and Suffolk, as they had done to Kent, not without making a show as if they meant to attempt Harwich and [Land-guard] Point; which drew all the train bands of those counties to the sea-side, and the duke of York went thither to conduct them, if there should be occasion.

1097 In this perplexity the king was not at ease, and the less that every man took upon him to discourse to him of the distemper of the people generally over the kingdom, and to give him counsel what was to be done: and some men had advised him to call the parliament, which at the last session had been prorogued to the 20th of October; and it was now the middle of June. And surely most discerning men thought such a conjuncture so unseasonable for the council of a parliament, that if it had been then sitting, the most wholesome advice that could be given would be to separate them, till that occasion should be over, which could be best provided for by a more contracted council: however, not knowing else what to do disposed the king to incline to that remedy. And it being a current opinion, or rather an unquestioned cer-

tainty, that upon a prorogation a parliament cannot be convened before the day, though upon an adjournment it may; they had brought Mr. Prynne privately to the king to satisfy him, “that upon an extraordinary occasion he might do it;” and his judgment, which in all other cases he did enough undervalue, very much confirmed him in what he had a mind to.

1098 In the beginning of the summer, when he had resolved to have no fleet at sea, there were many reasons which induced him to increase his forces at land. And that he might do it without jealousy of the people, he gave commission to three or four persons of the nobility, of great fortunes and good names, to raise regiments of foot, and to others for troops of horse; which was done at their own charge, and with wonderful expedition: and upon their first musters they all received one month’s pay. Of these levies some were sent to repossess Sheerness, and extraordinary care was taken for the better advancement of those fortifications; and others were disposed to other posts upon the coast: but it was in view, that upon the expiration of that month, there must be new pay provided for those regiments and troops. Then the train bands, which had been drawn together, had continued for one month, which was as long as the law required: and now they required, or were said to require, to be relieved or dismissed, or that they might receive pay. There were discontents and emulations upon command; and they who had usually professed, “that they would willingly serve the king in the offices of corporals or sergeants, whatever command they formerly had,” now disputed all the punctilios, and would not receive orders from any who had been formerly in inferior offices. And all these waywardnesses were brought to the king, as matters of the highest consequence, who found difficulty enough in determining points of more importance.

1099 They who for their own private designs desired that



the parliament might meet, and cared not in what humour they met, urged the king very importunately, “that he would issue out a proclamation to summon them, as the only expedient to give himself ease, and to provide for all that was to be done :” and his majesty was most inclined to it, and in truth resolved it ; though knowing that it was contrary to the sense of many, he resolved to debate it at the council. And there he told them, “that they all saw the straits that he was in, the insolence of the enemy, and the general distemper of the nation, which made it manifest that it was necessary for him to have an army, that might be ready against any thing that might fall out. That he had no money, nor knew where to get any ; nor could imagine any other way to provide against the mischiefs which were in view, than by calling the parliament to come together, of which or any other expedient he was willing to receive their advice ;” expressing so much of his own sense, that it was plain enough that he thought that remedy the best that could be applied. Three or four of those who sat at the lower end of the board, and who were well enough known to have given the counsel, and to be industrious that it might be followed, enlarged themselves in the debate, “that the soldiers could not be kept together without money ; and they could not advise any other way to get money but by the convening the parliament, which they were confident might justly and regularly be done :” and they desired, “that they who were of another opinion would propose some other way how the king might get money.”

1100 The chancellor discerned that the matter was already concluded, what advice soever should be given ; and that the three new commissioners of the treasury, since they could find no way to procure money, had been very importunate with the king to try that expedient, and the more, because they well knew that he was against it, he

having not been at all reserved upon several occasions in private discourses, when they were present, to give many reasons against it : and he knew as well, that they would gladly make any use of any expressions which might fall from [him,] when the remembrance might be applied to his prejudice. Yet his natural unwariness in such cases with reference to himself, when he thought his majesty's service concerned, to which he did really believe the present advice would produce much prejudice, prevailed with him to dissuade it.

1101 He said, " he knew well upon what disadvantage he spake, and how unpopular a thing it was to speak against the convening the parliament in those straits, which seemed to be capable of no other remedy : yet since he thought the remedy neither proper to the disease, nor that it could be applied in time, he could not concur with those who advised it. That most men who had any knowledge in the law did confess, that when the parliament stood prorogued to a certain day, the convening them upon a sooner day was very doubtful ; and to him, upon all the disquisition he could make, it was very clear that it could not be done : and therefore he desired the judges might be consulted in that point, before any resolution should be taken. That the temper of both houses was well known ; and that it could not but be presumed, that when they came together, the first debate they would fall upon would be of the manner of their coming together, and whether they were in a capacity to act : and he doubted there would be very few who would be forward to pass an act in a season, when the validity of it might be questioned by those who had no mind to pay any obedience to it. And then if their meeting were only to confer together upon all occurrences, and they might presume of liberty to say what they had a mind to say, without power to conclude any thing ; it was well worth the considering, whether, in so general a distemper

such an assembly might not interrupt all other consultations and expedients, and yet propose none, and so increase the confusion. If the necessities were so urgent, that it was absolutely necessary that a parliament should be convened, and that which stood prorogued could not lawfully reassemble till the 20th of October, as he was confident it could not; there was no question to be made, but that the king might lawfully by his proclamation presently dissolve the prorogued parliament, and send out his writs to have a new parliament, which might regularly meet a month before the prorogued parliament could come together." And many of the council were of opinion, that it would most conduce to his majesty's service to dissolve the one, and to call another parliament.

1102 This was an advice they believed no man had the courage to make, and were sorry to find so many of the opinion, which they had rather should have appeared to be single. Many very warmly opposed this expedient, magnified the affections and inclinations of both houses: "and though there appeared some ill humour in them at their last being together, and aversion to give any money for the present; yet in the main their affections were very right for church and state. And that the king was never to hope to see a parliament better constituted for his service, or so many of the members at his disposal: but that he must expect that the presbyterians would be chosen in all places, and that they who were most eminent now for opposing all that he desired would be chosen, and all they who were most zealous for his service would be carefully excluded;" which was a fancy that sunk very deep in the minds of the bishops, though their best friends thought them like to find more friends and a stronger support in any, than they would have in that parliament. But the king quickly declared his confidence in the parliament that was prorogued, and his resolution not to dissolve it; which put an end to that debate.

And the other was again resumed, "what the king was to do towards the raising money; or how he should be able to maintain his army, if he should defer calling the parliament till the day upon which they were to assemble by the prorogation:" and all men were to restrain their discourse to that point.

1103 The old argument, "that there could be no other way found out," was renewed, and urged with more earnestness and confidence; and that they who were against it might be obliged to offer their advice what other course should be taken: and this was often demanded, in a manner not usual in that place, as a reproach to the persons. His majesty himself with some quickness was pleased to ask the chancellor, "what he did advise." To which he replied, "that if in truth what was proposed was in the nature of it not practicable, or being practised could not attain the effect proposed, it ought to be laid aside, that men might unbiassed apply their thoughts to find out some other expedient. That he thought it very clear that the parliament could not assemble, though the proclamation should issue out that very hour, within less than twenty days; and that if they were met, and believed themselves lawfully qualified to grant a supply of money, all men knew the formality of that transaction would require so much time, that money could not be raised time enough to raise an army, or to maintain that part of it that was raised, to prevent the landing of an enemy that was already upon the coast, and (as many thought or seemed to think) ready every day to make their descent: and yet the sending out a proclamation for reassembling the parliament would inevitably put an end to all other counsels. That for his part he did believe, that the Dutch had already satisfied themselves in the affront they had given, and could not be in any condition to pursue it, or have men enough on board to make a descent, without the king's having notice of it; and that

the Dutch, without a conjunction with the French, had not strength for such an undertaking: and that the French had no such purpose his majesty had all the assurance possible, and that their fleet was gone far from the coast of England. And his majesty had reason to believe, that the present treaty would put an end to this war in a short time, though the power and artifice of De Wit had prevented a cessation.

1104 “However, for the present support of those troops which were necessary to guard the coasts, since money could not be found for their present constant pay, without which free quarter could not be avoided; the only way that appeared to him to be practicable, and to avoid the last evil, would be, to write letters to the lieutenants and deputy lieutenants of those counties where the troops were obliged to remain, that they would cause provisions of all kinds to be brought into those quarters, that so the soldiers might not be compelled to straggle abroad to provide their own victual, which would end in the worst kind of free quarter: and that the like letters might be written to the neighbour counties, wherein no soldiers were quartered, to raise money by way of contribution or loan, which should be abated out of the next impositions, that so the troops might be enabled to stay and continue in the posts where they were, for defence of the kingdom; in which those other counties had their share in the benefit, and without which they must themselves be exposed to the disorder of the soldiers, and possibly to the invasion of the enemy.”

1105 It is very probable, that in the earnestness of this debate, and the frequent interruptions which were given, he might use that expression, (which was afterwards objected against him,) “of raising contribution as had been in the late civil war.” Whatever it was he said, it was evident at the time that some men were well pleased with it, as

somewhat they meant to make use of hereafter, in which his innocence made him little concerned.

1106 The conclusion was, though many of the lords spake against it, and much the major part thought it not counsellable ; that a proclamation should forthwith issue out, to require all the members of parliament to meet upon a day appointed in the beginning of August, to consult upon the great affairs of the kingdom : and this proclamation was presently issued accordingly.

1107 All this time the treaty proceeded at Breda, as fast as the insolent humour of the Dutch would suffer it. The French king declared himself much offended with their proceedings at sea : and his ambassadors spake so loud, that the States gave order to their deputies to bring the treaty to a conclusion ; and sent such orders to De Ruyter, that there was no more hostility of any moment ; only the fleet remained at sea, that it might appear they were masters of it. It cannot be denied that the French ambassadors, except in what referred to Poleroone, behaved themselves as candidly as could be wished : and it is probable, that the same reason which moved the French to use all possible diligence to bring the treaty to an end, prevailed likewise with the Dutch to use all the delays they could, that it might be prolonged.

1108 Though there was no war declared, it had been long notorious that Flanders would be invaded : and it was as notorious, that there was no provision made there towards a resistance or defence ; the marquis of Castelle Roderigo, who came governor thither with a great reputation, not making good the expectation in the sagacity he was famed for, nor offering at any levies of men, or mending fortifications, until the French army was upon the borders. Then he sent into England to press the king to assist him with an army of horse and foot ; and it easily appeared the nation would gladly have engaged in that war, not

being willing that Flanders should be in the possession of France : but the king was engaged not to give any assistance to the enemies of France until the treaty should be ended, which yet it was not. However, he suffered the earl of Castlehaven, under pretence of recruiting a regiment in Flanders which he had formerly, to raise a body of one thousand foot, which he quickly transported to Ostend.

1109 The king [of France] was impatient to march, and yet desired the treaty might be first concluded, that both himself and the king of England might be at liberty to enter into such an alliance as they should think proper for their interest : and the Dutch, who had no mind that the expedition should be prosecuted, and as much feared the consequence of such an alliance, though they were not wise enough to consider the right means to prevent it, desired that the treaty might not be concluded till the winter drew nearer. But the French quickly put an end to that their hope by marching into the heart of Flanders, and so giving them new matter for their present consultations ; not without intimation, “ that if they would not finish the treaty, that king would conclude for what concerned himself : ” and this put an end to it. Yet there were some alterations of small importance in some articles of the former treaty, besides that of Poleroone, which the ambassadors would not consent to without further knowledge of the king’s pleasure : and so one of them (Mr. Henry Coventry) came to attend his majesty, to give him an account of all particulars, and receive his own final determination.

1110 The king in the first place sent for the East India company, and let them know, “ that the Dutch would not consent to the former article for the redelivery of Poleroone, nor give any recompense for it ; and that he was resolved not to depart from [them], and so release their right without their consent : and therefore that they

should consider what would be for their good." They answered, "that they thought a peace to be so necessary for the kingdom, that they would not that any particular interest of theirs should give any interruption to it:" and they acknowledged, "that if the war continued, they should in many respects be greater losers, than the redelivery of Poleroone would repair; and that they would gladly sacrifice that pretence to the public peace."

1111 Upon which answer the ambassador made his report of all the particulars which were consented to on both sides in the treaty, and what remained yet in suspense; and made answer to all questions which any of the council thought fit to ask. And the king requiring him to deliver his own opinion upon his observation, and "whether he believed, that if his majesty should positively insist upon what they had hitherto refused to consent to, the Dutch would choose to continue the war; and whether the French would join with them in it:" he answered, "that it was very evident that the Dutch did not at present desire the peace, otherwise than to comply with France and for fear of it; and that France was obliged not to abandon them in the point of Poleroone, which the other would never part with, nor give any recompense for, though the French ambassadors had used all the arguments to persuade them to it. But if that were agreed, he was confident they would be compelled to consent to whatsoever was else of moment. And that the French had used some threatening expressions, upon some insolent propositions made by the Dane, which they thought proceeded from the instigation of Holland. And that at his coming away, the French ambassadors had used great freedom with him, and advised in what particulars which were yet unagreed they wished his majesty would not consent, and in which they could not serve him, but believed a time would come, in which he would be repaired for those condescensions: in other particulars he should



positively insist, at least with some little variation of expression ; in which he expressed both his own and the opinion of the other ambassador."

1112 And the whole being in this manner clearly stated, the king required all the lords severally to deliver their judgment what he was to do ; and every man did deliver his opinion in more or fewer words. And it may be truly said, that, though one or two adorned their passion with some expressions of indignation against the Dutch for their presumption, and as if [they] did believe that the parliament would concur with the king in all things which might vindicate his honour from their insolent demands, the advice was upon the matter unanimous, "that the ambassadors should immediately return, and conclude the peace upon those conditions which were stated at the board." And he did presently return : and all matters were, within few days after his arrival, adjusted, and put into proper ministerial hands for engrossment, and all forms and circumstances agreed upon for the proclamation of the peace, and the day appointed for the proclaiming thereof ; and such forms of passes as should be given on all sides to merchants' ships, (which would be impatient for trade before the days could be expired,) in which all ships of war should be obliged to take notice that the peace was proclaimed.

1113 All this was done before the day of the parliament's convening upon the king's proclamation : so that there being now no use of an army, and reason enough to disband those regiments which had been raised towards it, his majesty thought it not reasonable that they should enter upon the debate of any business, but be continued under the former prorogation to the day appointed ; and in this there appeared not one person of a different opinion. And so, upon the day, the king went to the house, and told them, "that since the condition of his affairs was not so full of difficulty as it had been when he sent out

his proclamation, and since many were of opinion, that there might be doubts arise upon the regularity of their meeting; he was content to dismiss them till the 20th of October:" and so they separated without any debate.

1114 The public no sooner entered into this repose, than the storm began to arise that destroyed all the prosperity, ruined the fortune, and shipwrecked all the hopes, of the chancellor, who had been the principal instrument in the providing that repose. The parliament, that had been so unseasonably called together from their business and recreations, in a season of the year that they most desired to be vacant, were not pleased to be so soon dismissed: and very great pains were taken by those, who were thought to be able to do him the least harm, because they were known to be his enemies, to persuade the members of parliament, "that it was the chancellor only who had hindered their continuing together, and that he had advised the king to dissolve them;" which exceedingly inflamed them.

1115 And sir William Coventry was so far from being reserved in his malice, that the very day that the parliament was dismissed, after he had incensed them against the chancellor, in the presence of six or seven of the members, who were not all of the same mind, he declared, "that if at their next meeting, which would be within little more than two months, they had a mind to remove the chancellor from the court, they should easily bring it to pass:" of all which he had quickly information, and had several other advertisements from persons of honour, "that there was a strong combination entered into against him;" and [they] mentioned some particulars to have been told the king concerning him which had exceedingly offended his majesty. All which particulars, being without any colour or ground of truth, he believed were inventions (though not from those who informed him) only to amuse him.

- 1116 Yet he took an opportunity to acquaint the king with it, who, with the same openness he had always used, conferred with him about his present business, but only of the business. He besought his majesty to let him know, "whether he had received any information that he had done or said such and such things," which he made appear to him to be in themselves so incredible and improbable, that it could hardly be in his majesty's power to believe [them]; to which the king answered, "that nobody had told him any such thing." To which the other replied, "that he did really think they had not, though he knew that they had bragged they had done so, and thereby incensed his majesty against him; which they desired should be generally believed."
- 1117 The truth is; the chancellor was guilty of that himself which he had used to accuse the archbishop Laud of, that he was too proud of a good conscience. He knew his own innocence, and had no kind of apprehension of being publicly charged with any crime. He knew well he had many enemies who had credit with the king, and that they did him all the ill offices they could: and he knew that the lady's power and credit increased, and that she desired nothing more than to remove him from his majesty's confidence; in which he never thought her to blame, since she well knew that he employed all the credit he had to remove her from the court. But he thought himself very secure in the king's justice: and though his kindness was much lessened, he was confident his majesty would protect him from being oppressed, since he knew his integrity; and never suspected that he would consent to his ruin. He was in truth weary of the condition he was in, and had in the last year undergone much mortification; and desired nothing more, than to be divested of all other trusts and employments than what concerned the chancery only, in which he could have no rival, and in the administration whereof he had not heard of any

complaint: and this he thought might have satisfied all parties; and had sometimes desired the king, “that he might retire from all other business, than that of the judicatory,” for he plainly discerned he was not able to contend with other struggles.

1118 I cannot avoid in this place mentioning an accident that fell out in this time, and enlarge upon all the circumstances thereof, which might otherwise be passed over, but that it had an immediate influence on the fate of the person who is so near his fall. The king had been very much offended with the duke of Buckingham, who had behaved himself much worse towards him than could be expected from his obligations and discretion, and had been in truth the original cause of all the ill humour which had been in both houses of parliament in the last session; after the end of which he went into the country without taking his leave of the king, and in several places spake with greater license of the court and government, and of the person of the king, than any other person presumed to do; of all which his majesty had intelligence and information, and was at that time without doubt more offended with him than with any man in England, and had really great provocation to jealousy of his fidelity, as well as of his respect and affection. The lord Arlington, as secretary of state, had received several informations of dangerous words spoken by him against the king, and of his correspondencies with persons the most suspected for seditious inclinations, the duke having made himself very popular amongst the levellers, and amongst them who clamoured for liberty of conscience, which pretence he seemed very much to cherish.

1119 The king was very much awakened to be jealous of him, besides his behaviour in the parliament, by some informations he received from his own servants. There was one Braythwaite, a citizen, who had been a great confident of Cromwell and of the council of state, a man

of parts, and looked upon as having a greater interest with the discontented party than any man of the city. Upon the king's return this man fled beyond the seas, and after near a year's stay there came again to London, but remained there as incognito, came not upon the exchange, nor was seen in public, and returned again into Holland ; and so made frequent journeys backward and forward for several months, and then came and resided publicly in the city. This being taken notice of by sir Richard Browne, who was major general of the city, upon whose vigilance the king very much and very justly depended, and the man being well known to him, he had long endeavoured to apprehend [him], till he understood that he was a servant to the duke of Buckingham, and in great trust with him, as he was ; for the duke had committed the whole managery of his estate to him, and upon his recommendation had received many other inferior servants to be employed under him, all of the same leaven with him, and all notorious for their disaffection to the church and state. The major general, being one day to give the king an account of some business, told him likewise of this man, "as one as worthy to be suspected for all disloyal purposes, and as like to bring them to pass, as any man of that condition in England;" and seemed to wonder, "that the duke would entertain such a person in his service."

1120 At that time the duke had by his diligence, and those faculties towards mirth in which he excelled, made himself very acceptable to the king; though many wondered that he could be so, considering what the king himself knew of him: insomuch that his majesty told him what he had been informed of his steward, and how much he suffered in his reputation for entertaining such servants. The duke received the animadversion with all possible submission and acknowledgment of the obligation, and then enlarged upon the commendation of the man, "of his

great abilities, and the benefit he received by his service;" and besought his majesty, "that he would vouchsafe to hear him, for he believed he would give an account of the state of the city, and of many particulars which related to his majesty's service, better than most men could do." And the king shortly after supping at the duke's house, he found an opportunity to present Mr. Braythwaite to him, who was a man of a very good aspect, which that people used not to have, and of notable insinuation. He made the king a narration of the whole course of his life, in which he did not endeavour to make himself appear a better man than he had been reported to be; which kind of ingenuity, as men call it, is a wonderful approach towards being believed. He related "by what degrees, and in what method of conviction, he had explicated himself from all those ill principles in which he had been entangled: and that it had been a principal motive to him to embrace the opportunity of serving the duke, that he might totally retire from that company and conversation to which he had been most accustomed. And yet he thought he had so much credit with the chief of them, that they could never enter into any active combination, but he should have notice of it: and assured his majesty that nothing should pass of moment amongst that people, but his majesty should have very seasonable information of it, and that he would always serve him with great fidelity." In fine, the king was well satisfied with his discourse, and often afterwards upon the like opportunities conferred with him, and believed him to be well disposed to do him any service.

<sup>1121</sup> During the last session of parliament, in which the duke carried himself so disrespectfully to the king, this man found an opportunity to get access to his majesty, which he was willing to give him; when he said, "that he thought it his duty, and according to his obligation, to give his majesty an account of what he had lately ob-

served, and of his own resolutions." He told him, "that his lord was of late very much altered, and was fallen into the acquaintance and conversation of some men of very mean condition, but of very desperate intentions; with whom he used to meet at unseasonable hours, and in obscure places, where persons of quality did not use to resort; and that he frequently received letters from them: all which made him apprehend that there was a design on foot, which, how unreasonable soever, the duke might be engaged in. And for these and other reasons, and the irregular course of his life, he was resolved to withdraw himself from his service: and that he hoped, into what extravagancies soever the duke should cast himself, his majesty would retain a good opinion of him, who would never swerve from his affection and duty."

1122 The information and testimony, which the lord Arlington brought to the king shortly after this advertisement, made the greater impression; and there were many particulars in the informations that could not be suspected to be forged. And it appeared that there was a poor fellow, who had a poorer lodging about Tower-hill, and professed skill in horoscopes, to whom the duke often repaired in disguise in the night: and the lord Arlington had caused that fellow to be apprehended, and his pockets and his chamber to be searched; where were found several letters to the duke of Buckingham, one or two whereof were in his pocket sealed and not sent, and the rest copies, and one original letter from the duke to him, in all which there were many unusual expressions, which were capable of a very ill interpretation, and could not bear a good one. This man and some others were sent close prisoners to the Tower, where the lord Arlington and two other privy counsellors, by the king's order, took their several examinations, and confronted them with those witnesses, who accused them and justified their accusations; all which were brought to the king.

1123 And then his majesty was pleased to acquaint the chancellor with all that had passed, who to that minute had not the least imagination of any particular relating to it: nor had he any other prejudice to the person of the duke, (for he behaved himself towards him with more than ordinary civility,) than what was necessary for any man to have upon account of the extravagancy of his life; and which he could not be without, upon what he had often received from the duke himself upon his own knowledge. The king now shewed him all those examinations and depositions which had been taken; and that letter to the fellow, "which," his majesty said, "he knew to be every word the duke's own hand;" and the letters to the duke from the fellow, which still gave him the style of prince, and mentioned what great things his stars promised to him, and that he was the darling of the people, who had set their hearts and affections and all their hopes upon his highness, with many other foolish and some fustian expressions. His majesty told him in what places the duke had been since he left London; "that he stayed few days in any place; and that he intended on such a day, that was to come, to be in Staffordshire at the house of sir Charles Wolsely," a gentleman who had been of great eminency in Cromwell's council, and one of those who had been sent by the house of commons to persuade him to accept the crown with the title of king. Upon the whole matter his majesty asked him, "what way he was to proceed against him:" to which he answered, "that he was first to be apprehended; and when he should be in custody and examined, his majesty would better judge which way he was to proceed against him."

1124 Upon further consideration with the chancellor and lord Arlington and others of the council, the king sent a sergeant at arms, with a warrant under his sign manual, "to apprehend the duke of Buckingham, and to bring



him before one of the secretaries of state, to answer to such crimes as should be objected against him ;” or to that purpose. The sergeant made a journey into Northamptonshire, where he was informed the duke [was] : but still, when he came to the house where he was said to be, it was pretended that he was gone from thence some hours before ; by which he found that he had notice of his business. And therefore he concealed himself, and appointed some men to watch and inform themselves of his motions, it being generally reported that he would be at the house of the earl of Exeter at such a time. And notice was given him, that he was then in a coach with ladies going to that house : upon which he made so good haste, that he was in view of the coach, and saw the duke alight out of the coach, and lead a lady into the house ; upon which the door of the court was shut before he could get to it. He knocked loudly at that and other doors that were all shut ; so that he could not get into the house, though it were some hours before sunset in the month of May. After some hours’ attendance, one Mr. Fairfax, who waited upon the duke of Buckingham, came to the door, and without opening it asked him, “ what he would have :” and he answered, “ that he had a message to the duke from the king, and that he must speak with him ;” to which he replied, “ that he was not there, and that he should seek for him in some other place.” The sergeant told him, “ that he saw him go into the house ; and that if he might not be admitted to speak with him, he would require the sheriff of the county to give him his assistance :” upon which the gentleman went away, and about half an hour after returned again, and threatened the sergeant so much, after he had opened the door, that the poor man had not the courage to stay longer ; but returned to the court, and gave a full relation in writing to the secretary of the endeavours he had used, and the affronts he had received.

1125      Why all the particular circumstances of this affair are so punctually related will appear anon. The king was so exceedingly offended at this carriage and behaviour of the duke, that he made relation of it to the council-board, and publicly declared, “that he was no longer of that number,” and caused his name to be left out in the list of the counsellors, and “that he was no longer a gentleman of his bedchamber,” and put the earl of Rochester to wait in his place. His majesty likewise revoked that commission by which he was constituted lord lieutenant of the East Riding in Yorkshire, and granted that commission to the earl of Burlington: so that it was not possible for his majesty to give more lively instances of his displeasure against any man, than he had done against the duke. And at the same time, with the advice of the board, a proclamation issued out for his apprehension, and inhibiting all persons to entertain, receive, or conceal him. Upon which he thought it fit to leave the country, and that he should be less discovered in London, whither he resorted, and had many lodgings in several quarters of the city. And though his majesty had frequent intelligence where he was, and continued advertisements of the liberty he took in his discourses of his own person, and of some others, of which he was no less sensible; yet when the sergeant at arms, and others employed for his apprehension, came where he was known to have been but an hour before, he was gone from thence, or so concealed there that he could not be found: and in this manner he continued sleeping all the day, and walking from place to place in the night, for the space of some months.

1126      At last, being advertised of renewed instances of the king’s displeasure, and that it every day increased upon new intelligence that he received of his behaviour, he grew weary of the posture he was in, and employed several persons to move the king on his behalf: for he was

informed that the king resolved to proceed against him for his life, and that his estate was begged and given. Upon this one night he sent his secretary, Mr. Clifford, to the chancellor, with whom he had never entered into any dispute, with some compliments and expressions of confidence in his friendship. He professed “great innocence and integrity in all his actions with reference to the king, though he might have been passionate and indiscreet in his words; that there was a conspiracy against his life, and that his estate was granted or promised to persons who had begged it:” and in conclusion he desired “that he would send him his advice what he should do, but rather, that he would permit him to come to him in the evening to his house, that he might confer with him.”

- 1127 The chancellor answered his secretary, who was well known to him, “that he might not confer with him till he rendered himself to the king; that he was confident, having seen testimony enough to convince him, that the duke was not innocent; and that he had much to answer for disrespectful mention of the king, which would require much acknowledgment and submission: but that he did not know that his crimes were of that magnitude as would put his life into danger; and that he was most confident that there was no conspiracy to take that from him, except his faults were of another nature than they yet appeared to be; and which no conspiracy, which he need not fear, could deprive him of. And he did not believe that there had been any attempt to beg his estate: but he was sure there had not been, nor could be, any grant of it to any man, which must have passed by the great seal.” He did advise him, and desired him to follow his advice, “that if he did know himself innocent as to unlawful actions and designs, and that his fault consisted only in indiscreet words, as he seemed to confess; he would no longer aggravate his offence by contemning his warrants, which he would not be long able to avoid, but deliver

himself into the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower, which he was at liberty by the proclamation to do, and send then a petition to the king, that he might be heard: and that when he had done this, he would be ready and willing to do him all the offices which would consist with his duty."

1128 And the next day he gave his majesty a particular account of the message which he had received, and of the answer which he had returned; which his majesty approved, and shewed him a letter that he had received from the duke that morning, which seemed to have been written after his secretary had returned from the chancellor. The letter contained a large profession of his innocence, and complaint of the power of his enemies, and a very earnest desire "that his majesty would give him leave to speak with him, and then dispose of him as he pleased;" to which his majesty had answered to the person who brought the letter, who, as I remember, was sir Robert Howard, "that the duke need not fear the power of any enemies, but would be sure to have justice, if he would submit to it."

1129 But his majesty in his discourse seemed to be as weary of the prosecution, as the duke was of the concealing himself to avoid it, and to have much apprehension of his interest and power in the parliament; and to be troubled that the principal witness, upon whose testimony he relied, was at [that] time sick of the smallpox, and in danger of death, and that another retracted part of that evidence that he had given. In a word, his majesty appeared less angry than he had been, and willing that an end should be put to the business without any public prosecution. To which the chancellor made no other answer, than "that no advice could be given with preservation of his majesty's dignity, till the duke rendered himself into the hand of justice:" which he was very unwilling to do, and sent again to the chancellor by sir Robert Howard,

to press him, "that he might be admitted first to the king's presence, and then sent to the Tower." The other told him, "that if the king were inclined to admit him in that manner, he would dissuade him from it, as a thing dishonourable to him after so long a contest;" and repeated the same to him that he said formerly to Mr. Clifford: nor could he be persuaded by any others (for others did speak to him to the same purpose) to recede a tittle from what he had insisted upon, "that he should put himself in the Tower." Of all which he still gave the king a faithful account of every word that passed: for he knew well that the lord Arlington endeavoured to persuade the king, "that the chancellor favoured the duke, and desired that he should be at liberty; when at the same time he used all the ways he could to have it insinuated to the duke's friends, "that he knew nothing of the business, but that the whole prosecution was made by the information and advice of the chancellor."

1130 In the end, the duke was persuaded to render himself to the Tower: and from thence he sent a petition to the king, who presently appeared very inclined to give over any further prosecution; which alteration all men wondered at, nor could any man imagine the ground or reason of it. For though the principal witness was dead, as the lord Arlington declared he was, and that so much could not be proved as at the first discovery was reasonably suspected; yet the meanness and vileness of the persons with whom he kept so familiar correspondence, the letters between them which were ready to be produced, the disrespectful and scandalous discourses which he often held concerning the king's person, and many other particulars which had most inflamed the king, and which might fully have been proved, would have manifested so much vanity and presumption in the duke, as must have lessened his credit and reputation with all serious men, and made him worthy of severe censure. But whether the king thought

not fit to proceed upon the words and scandalous discourses, which he thought would more disperse and publish the scandals; or whether he did really believe that it would disturb and obstruct all his business in parliament; or what other reason soever prevailed with his majesty, as without doubt some other there were: his majesty was very impatient to be rid of the business, and would have been easily persuaded to have given present order for setting the duke at liberty, and so to silence all further discourse. But he was persuaded, "that that would most reflect upon his own honour, by making it believed, that there had been in truth a foul conspiracy against the person of the duke, which would give him more credit in the parliament and every where else;" for the king had not yet, with all his indulgence, a better opinion of his affection and fidelity than he had before.

1131 In conclusion; it was resolved, "that the lieutenant of the Tower should bring the duke of Buckingham to the council chamber, his majesty being present; and there the attorney and solicitor general should open the charge that was against him, and read all the examinations which had been taken, and the letters which had passed between them:" all which was done. And the duke denying "that he had ever written to that fellow, though he knew him well, and used to make himself merry with him," the letter was produced (which the king and the lord Arlington, who both knew his hand well, made no doubt to be his hand) and delivered to the duke; who, as soon as he cast his eye upon it, said, "it was not his hand, but he well knew whose it was." And being asked whose hand it was, he said, "it was his sister's, the duchess of Richmond, with whom," he said, "it was known that he had no correspondence." Whereupon the king called for the letter, and, having looked upon it, he said, "he had been mistaken," and confessed that it was the duchess's hand;" and seemed much out of countenance upon the mistake:

though the letter gave still as much cause of suspicion, for it was as strange that she should write to such a fellow in a style very obliging, being in answer to a letter; so that it seemed very reasonable still to believe, that she might have written it upon his desire and dictating.

1132 The duke denied most of the particulars contained in the examinations: and for the other letters which had been written to him by the fellow who was in the Tower, (whereof one was found in his pocket sealed to be sent to the duke, and the others were copies of others which had been sent; and the witness who was dead had delivered one of them into the duke's own hand, and related at large the kindness he expressed towards the man, and the message he sent to him by him,) he denied that he had ever received those letters; but acknowledged, "that the man came often to him, and pretended skill in horoscopes, but more in distillations, in which the duke delighted and exercised himself, but looked upon the fellow as cracked in his brain, and fit only to be laughed at." When the duke was withdrawn, the king declared, "that he had been deceived in being confident that the letter had been written by the duke, which he now discerned not to be his hand, and he knew as well to have been written by the duchess;" and thereupon seemed to think that there was nothing else worth the examining: and so order was given to set the duke at liberty, who immediately went to his own house, and went not in some days afterwards to the court.

1133 About this time, or in a few days afterwards, a great affliction befell the chancellor in his domestics, which prepared him to bear all the unexpected accidents that suddenly succeeded that more insupportable misfortune. His wife, the mother of all his children, and his companion in all his banishment, and who had made all his former calamities less grievous by her company and courage, having made a journey to Tunbridge for her

health, returned from thence without the benefit she expected, yet without being thought by the physicians to be in any danger ; and within less than three days died : which was so sudden, unexpected, and irreparable a loss, that he had not courage to support ; which nobody wondered at who knew the mutual satisfaction and comfort they had in each other. And he might possibly have sunk under it, if his enemies had not found out a new kind of consolation to him, which his friends could never have thought of.

- 1134 Within few days after his wife's death, the king vouchsafed to come to his house to condole with him, and used many gracious expressions to him : yet within less than a fortnight the duke (who was seldom a day without doing him the honour to see him) came to him, and with very much trouble told him, "that such a day, that was past, walking with the king in the park, his majesty asked him how the chancellor did : to which his highness had made answer, that he was the [most] disconsolate person he ever [saw] ; and that he had lamented himself to him not only upon the loss of his wife, but out of apprehension that his majesty had of late withdrawn his countenance from him : to which his majesty replied, that he wondered he should think so, but that he would speak more to him of that subject the next day. And that that morning his majesty had held a long discourse with him, in which he told him, that he had received very particular and certain intelligence, that when the parliament should meet again, they were resolved to impeach the chancellor, who was grown very odious to [them], not only for his having opposed them in all those things upon which they had set their hearts, but that they had been informed that he had proposed and advised their dissolution ; which had enraged them to that degree, that they had taken a resolution as soon as they came together again to send up an impeachment against him ; which



would be a great dishonour to his majesty, and obstruct all his affairs, nor should he be able to protect him or divert them: and therefore that it would be necessary for his service, and likewise for the preservation of the chancellor, that he should deliver up the seal to him. All which he desired the duke" (who confessed that he had likewise received the same advertisement) "to inform him of: and that the chancellor himself should choose the way and the manner of delivering up the seal, whether he would wait upon the king and give it into his own hand, or whether the king should send a secretary or a privy counsellor for it." When the duke had said all that the king had given him in charge, he declared himself "to be much unsatisfied with the king's resolution; and [that] though he had received the same advertisement, and believed that there was a real combination and conspiracy against him, yet he knew the chancellor's innocence would not be frightened with it."

- <sup>1135</sup> The chancellor was indeed as much surprised with this relation, as he could have been at the sight of a warrant for his execution. He told the duke, "that he did not wonder that the king and his highness had been informed of such a resolution; for that they who had contrived the conspiracy, and done all they could to make it prevalent, could best inform his majesty and his highness of what would probably fall out." And thereupon he informed the duke "of what had passed at the day of the last prorogation, and the discourse and promise sir William Coventry had made to them, if they had a mind to be rid of the chancellor: but," he said, "that which only afflicted him was, that the king should have no better opinion of his innocence and integrity, than to conclude that such a combination must ruin him. And he was more troubled to find, that the king himself had so terrible an apprehension of [their] power and [their] purposes, as if they might do any thing they had a mind to do. He did not

believe that he was so odious to the parliament as he was reported to be ; if he were, it was only for his zeal to his majesty's service, and his insisting upon what his majesty had resolved : but he was confident that when his enemies had done all that their malice could suggest against him, it would appear that the parliament was not of their mind. He wished that he might have the honour to speak with the king, before he returned any answer to his commands." The duke was pleased graciously to reply, "that it was the advice he intended to give him, that he should desire it ; and that he doubted not but that he should easily prevail with the king to come to his house, whither he had used so frequently to come, and where he had been so few days before : " and at this time the chancellor was not only not well able to walk ; besides that it was against the common rules of decency to go so soon out of his house. When the duke desired the king, that he would vouchsafe to go to Clarendon-house, his majesty very readily consented to it ; and said, " he would go thither the next day." But that and more days passed ; and then he told the duke, " that since he resolved to take the seal, it would not be so fit for him to go thither ; but he would send for the chancellor to come to his own chamber in Whitehall, and he would go thither to him."

1136 In the mean time it began to be the discourse of the court : and the duchess, from whom the duke had yet concealed it, came to be informed of it ; who presently went to the king with some passion ; and the archbishop of Canterbury and the general accompanied her, who all besought the king not to take such a resolution. And many other of the privy-council, with none of whom the chancellor had spoken, taking notice of the rumour, attended the king with the same suit and advice. To all whom his majesty answered, " that what he intended was for his good, and the only way to preserve him." He

held longer discourse to the general, "that he did believe by what his brother had told him, of the extreme agony the chancellor was in upon the death of his wife, that he had himself desired to be dismissed from his office;" and bade the general "go to him, and bid him come the next morning to his own chamber at Whitehall, and the king would come thither to him." And the general came to him with great professions of kindness, which he had well deserved from him, gave him a relation of all that had passed with the king, and concluded, "that what had been done had been upon mistake; and he doubted not, but that upon conference with his majesty all things would be well settled again to his content;" which no doubt he did at that time believe as well as wish.

- 1137 Upon Monday, the 26th of August, about ten of the clock in the morning, the chancellor went to his chamber in Whitehall, where he had not been many minutes, before the king and the duke by themselves came into the room. His majesty looked very graciously upon him, and made him sit down; when the other acknowledged "the honour his majesty had done him, in admitting him into his presence before he executed a resolution he had taken." He said, "that he had no suit to make to him, nor the least thought to dispute with him, or to divert him from the resolution he had taken; but only to receive his determination from himself, and most humbly to beseech him to let him know what fault he had committed, that had drawn this severity upon him from his majesty." The king told him, "he had not any thing to object against him; but must always acknowledge, that he had always served him honestly and faithfully, and that he did believe that never king had a better servant, and that he had taken this resolution for his good and preservation, as well as for his own convenience and security; and that he had verily believed that it had been upon his consent and desire." And thereupon his

majesty entered upon a relation of all that had passed between him and the duke, and “that he really thought his brother had concurred with him in his opinion, as the only way to preserve him.” In that discourse the duke sometimes positively denied to have said somewhat, and explained other things as not said to the purpose his majesty understood, or that he ever implied that himself thought it fit.

1138 The sum of what his majesty said was, “that he was most assured by information that could not deceive him, that the parliament was resolved, as soon as they should come together again, to impeach the chancellor; and then that his innocence would no more defend and secure him against their power, than the earl of Strafford had defended himself against them: and,” he said, “he was as sure, that his taking the seal from him at this time would so well please the parliament, that his majesty should thereby be able to preserve him, and to provide for the passage of his own business, and the obtaining all that he desired.” He said, “he was sorry that the business had taken so much air, and was so publicly spoken of, that he knew not how to change his purpose;” which he seemed to impute to the passion of the duchess, that had divulged it.

1139 The chancellor told him, “that he had not contributed to the noise, nor had imparted it to his own children, till they with great trouble informed him, that they heard it from such and such persons,” whom they named, “with some complaint that it was concealed from them: nor did he then come in hope to divert him from the resolution he had taken in the matter itself.” He said, “he had but two things to trouble him with. The first, that he would by no means suffer it to be believed that he himself was willing to deliver up the seal; and that he should not think himself a gentleman, if he were willing to depart and withdraw himself from the office, in a time

when he thought his majesty would have need of all honest men, and in which he thought he might be able to do him some service. The second, that he could not acknowledge this deprivation to be done in his favour, or in order to do him good; but on the contrary, that he looked upon it as the greatest ruin he could undergo, by his majesty's own declaring his judgment upon him, which would amount to little less than a confirmation of those many libellous discourses which had been raised, and would upon the matter expose him to the rage and fury of the people, who had been with great artifice and industry persuaded to believe, that he had been the cause and the counsellor of all that they liked not. That he was so far from fearing the justice of the parliament, that he renounced his majesty's protection or interposition towards his preservation: and that though the earl of Strafford had undergone a sentence he did not deserve, yet he could not acknowledge their cases to be parallel. That though that great person had never committed any offence that could amount to treason, yet he had done many things which he could not justify, and which were transgressions against the law; whereas he was not guilty of any action, whereof he did not desire the law might be the judge. And if his majesty himself should discover all that he had said to him in secret, he feared not any censure that should attend it: if any body could charge him with any crime or offence, he would most willingly undergo the punishment that belonged to it.

1140 “But,” he said, “he doubted very much, that the throwing off an old servant, who had served the crown in some trust near thirty years, (who had the honour by the command of his blessed father, who had left good evidence of the esteem he had of his fidelity, to wait upon his majesty when he went out of the kingdom, and by the great blessing of God had the honour to return with him again; which no other counsellor alive could say,) [on the] sud-

den, without any suggestion of a crime, nay, with a declaration of innocence, would call his majesty's justice and good-nature into question; and men would not know how securely to serve him, when they should see it was in the power of three or four persons who had never done him any notable service, nor were in the opinion of those who knew them best like to do, to dispose him to so ungracious an act."

1141 The king seemed very much troubled and irresolute; then repeated "the great power of the parliament, and the clear information he had of their purposes, which they were resolved to go through with, right or wrong; and that his own condition was such, that he could not dispute with them, but was upon the matter at their mercy."

1142 The chancellor told him, "it was not possible for his majesty to have any probable assurance what the parliament would do. And though he knew he had offended some of the house of commons, in opposing their desires in such particulars as his majesty thought were prejudicial to his service; yet he did not doubt but his reputation was much greater in both houses, than either of theirs who were known to be his enemies, and to have this influence upon his majesty, who were all known to be guilty of some transgressions, which they would have been called in question for in parliament, if he had not very industriously, out of the tenderness he had for his majesty's honour and service, prevented it; somewhat whereof was not unknown to his majesty." He concluded "with beseeching him, whatever resolution he took in his particular, not to suffer his spirits to fall, nor himself to be dejected with the apprehension of the formidable power of the parliament, which was more or less or nothing, as he pleased to make it: that it was yet in his own power to govern them; but if they found it was in theirs to govern him, nobody knew what the end would be." And thereupon he made him a short relation of the method that was

used in the time of Richard the Second, “when they terrified the king with the power and the purposes of the parliament, till they brought him to consent to that from which he could not redeem himself, and without which they could have done him no harm.” And in the warmth of this relation he found a seasonable opportunity to mention the lady with some reflections and cautions, which he might more advisedly have declined.

1143 After two hours’ discourse, the king rose without saying any thing, but appeared not well pleased with all that had been said; and the duke of York found he was offended with the last part of it. The garden, that used to be private, had now many in it to observe the countenance of the king when he came out of the room: and when the chancellor returned, the lady, the lord Arlington, and Mr. May, looked together out of her open window with great gaiety and triumph, which all people observed.

1144 Four or five days passed without any further proceedings, or the king’s declaring his resolution: and in that time the chancellor’s concern was the only argument of the court. Many of the council, and other persons of honour and interest, presumed to speak with the king, and to give a very good testimony of him, of his unquestionable integrity, and of his parts, and credit with the sober part of the nation: and to those his majesty always commended him, with professions of much kindness; but said, “he had made himself odious to the parliament, and so was no more capable to do him service.” On the other side, the lady and lord Arlington, and sir William Coventry, exceedingly triumphed, the last of which openly and without reserve declared, “that he had given the king advice to remove him as a man odious to the parliament, and that the king would be ruined if he did it not; that he was so imperious, that he would endure no contradiction;” with many other reproaches to that purpose. But except those three, and Mr. May and Mr. Brounker, there

seemed none of name in the court who wished that the resolution should be pursued.

1145 The duke of York concerned himself wonderfully on the chancellor's behalf, and with as much warmth as any private gentleman could express on the behalf of his friend. He had great indignation at the behaviour of sir William Coventry and Mr. Brounker, that being his servants they should presume to shew so much malice towards a person they knew he had kindness for. And the former had so much sense of it, that he resolved to quit the relation by which he had got vast wealth, and came to him, and told him, "that since he was commissioner for the treasury, he found he should not be able to attend his service so diligently as he ought to do ; and therefore desired his highness's favour in his dismissal, and that he would give him leave to commend an honest man to succeed him in his service : " to which his highness shortly answered, "that he might dispose himself as he would, with which he was well content ; and that he would choose another secretary for himself without his recommendation." And his highness presently went to the chancellor, and informed him of it, with displeasure enough towards the man, and much satisfaction that he was rid of him ; and asked him " whom he would recommend to him for a secretary." He told his highness, " that if he would trust his judgment, he would recommend a person to him, who he believed was not unknown to him, and for whose parts and fidelity he would pass his word, having had good experience of both in his having served him as a secretary for the space of above seven years ; " and named Mr. Wren. The duke said, " he knew him well, being a member of the Royal Company, where he often heard him speak very intelligently, and discerned him to be a man of very good parts, and therefore he would very willingly receive him ; and the rather, that he knew it would be looked upon as an evidence of



his kindness to him, which he would always own and testify to all the world :” and within two days after, he received him into his service with the king’s approbation, the gentleman’s abilities being very well known, and his person much loved.

1146 In this suspension, the common argument was, “that it was not now the question whether the chancellor was innocent ; but whether, when the king had so long resolved to remove him, and had now proceeded so far towards it, he should retract his resolution, and be governed by his brother : it was enough that he was not beloved, and that the court wished him removed.” And Mr. Brounker openly declared, “that the resolution had been taken above two months before ; and that it would not consist with his majesty’s honour to be hectored out of it by his brother, who was wrought upon by his wife’s crying.” And this kind of argumentation was every moment inculcated by the lady and her party : insomuch as when the duke made his instances with all the opportunity he could use, and put his majesty in mind “of many discourses his majesty had formerly held with him, of the chancellor’s honesty and discretion, conjuring him to love and esteem him accordingly, when his highness had not so good an opinion of him ;” and [complained], “that now he had found by good experience that he deserved that character, his majesty would withdraw his kindness from him, and rather believe others, who he knew were his enemies, than his own judgment :” the king gave no other answer, than “that he had proceeded too far to retire ; and that he should be looked upon as a child, if he receded from his purpose.”

1147 And so being reconfirmed, upon the 30th of August in the year 1667 he sent secretary Morrice, who had no mind to the employment, with a warrant under the sign manual, to require and receive the great seal ; which the chancellor immediately delivered to him with all the ex-

pressions of duty to the king. And as soon as the secretary had delivered it to the king in his closet, Mr. May went into the closet, and fell upon his knees, and kissed his majesty's hand, telling him "that he was now king, which he had never been before."

1148 The chancellor believed that the storm had been now over; for he had not the least apprehension of the displeasure of the parliament, or of any thing they could say or do against him: yet he resolved to stay at his house till it should meet, (without going thither, which he was informed would be ill taken,) that he might not be thought to be afraid of being questioned; and then to retire into the country, and to live there very privately. And there was a report raised without any ground, that he intended to go to the house of peers, and take his precedence as chancellor, with which the king was much offended: but as soon as he heard of it, he desired the lord chamberlain to assure his majesty, "that he never intended any such thing, nor would ever do any thing that he believed would displease him;" with which he seemed well satisfied.

1149 However, a new tempest was quickly raised against him. Many persons of honour and quality came every day to visit him with many expressions of affection and esteem; and most of the king's servants, except only those few who had declared themselves his enemies, still frequented his house with the same kindness they had always professed: but they were looked upon quickly with a very ill countenance by the other party, and were plainly told, "that the king would take it ill from all his servants who visited the chancellor;" though when some of them asked his majesty; "whether their visiting him, to whom they had been formerly much beholden, would offend his majesty;" he answered, "No, he had not forbid any man to visit him." Yet it appeared more every day, that they were best looked on who forbore

going to him, and the other found themselves upon much disadvantage; by which however many were not discouraged.

1150 The chief prosecutors behaved themselves with more insolence than was agreeable to their discretion: and the lord Arlington, who had long before behaved himself with very little courtesy towards all persons whom he believed to be well affected to the chancellor, even towards ambassadors and other foreign ministers, now when any of his friends came to him for the despatch of business in his office, asked them “when they saw the chancellor,” and bade them “go to him to put their business into a method.” The duke of Buckingham, who had after his enlargement visited the chancellor, and acknowledged the civilities he had received from him, came now again to the court, and was received with extraordinary grace by the king, and restored to all the honours and offices of which he was deprived; and was informed and assured, “that all the proceedings which had been against him were upon the information and advice of the chancellor:” and whatever he had spoken in council was told him in that manner (and without the true circumstances) that might make most impression on him.

1151 One day whilst that matter was depending, (which is not mentioned before,) the lord Arlington, after he found the king had acquainted the chancellor with the business, and shewed him the information and examinations which had been taken, proposed, there being more or the same witnesses to be further examined, “that the chancellor might be present with the rest who had been formerly employed at their examining:” which the king seeming to consent to, the other desired to be excused, “for that the office he held never used to be subject to those employments;” and in the debate added, “that if the testimony of witnesses made good all that was suggested, and the duke should be brought to a trial, it might probably

fall out, that the king might command him to execute the office of high steward, as he had lately done in the trial of the lord Morley; and in that respect it would be very incongruous for him to be present at the examinations." The duke was now informed, without any of the circumstances, that the chancellor had said that he was to be high steward at the trial of the duke.

1152 The duke, who always believed, and could not but upon the matter know, that the lord Arlington (with whom he had enmity) had been very solicitous in his prosecution, had, after his having visited the chancellor, sent a friend, whom he thought he would trust, to him, "to desire him to deal freely with him concerning the lord Arlington, whom he knew to be an enemy to both of them; and that he must have him examined upon that conspiracy, which he hoped he would not take ill:" to which he answered, "that he neither would nor could be examined concerning any thing that had been said or done in council; but that he would, as his friend, and to prevent his exposing himself to any new inconvenience, very freely and faithfully assure him, that he did not believe that there had been any conspiracy against him, nor did know that the lord Arlington had done any thing in the prosecution, but what was according to the obligation and duty of his office; which testimony," he said, "could proceed only from justice, since he well knew that lord did not wish him well." This answer, it seems, or the despair of drawing any other from him to his purpose, disposed him to give entire credit to the other information; and the king took great pains to reconcile him to the lord Arlington, who made many vows to him of his future service, and desired his protection: and hereupon the duke openly professed his resolution of revenge, and frankly entered into the combination with the lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against the chancellor.

1153 But the knowledge of all this did not give him much trouble, (so much confidence he had in his own innocence, and so little esteem of the credit and interest of his enemies,) until he heard that the king himself expressed great displeasure towards him, and declared, “that he had misbehaved himself towards his majesty, and that he was so imperious that he would endure no contradiction; that he had a faction in the house of commons, that opposed every thing that concerned his majesty’s service, if it were not recommended to them by him; and that he had given him very ill advice concerning the parliament, which offended him most:” all which they to whom his majesty said it divulged to others, that they might thereby lessen the chancellor’s credit and interest. It is very true, they who had taken all advantages to alienate the king’s affections from him, had at first only proposed his removal, “as a person odious to the parliament, and whom they were resolved to impeach, which would put his majesty into a strait, either to renounce or desert an old servant, which would not be for his honour, or, by protecting him, to deprive himself of all those benefits which he expected from the parliament; whereas the removing him would so gratify the houses, that they would deny nothing that his majesty should demand of them;” and his majesty did believe it the only way to preserve him. But when they had prevailed so far, and rendered themselves more necessary to him, they prosecuted what they had begun with more visible animosity, and told him, “that if the parliament suspected that his majesty retained still any kindness towards him, they would not be satisfied with his removal, but apprehend that he would be again received into his favour; and he would in the mean time have so much credit in both houses, especially if he sat in the house of peers,” which they undertook to know he intended to do, “that he would be able to obstruct whatsoever his majesty desired: and therefore

it was necessary that his majesty should upon all occasions declare, and that it should be believed, that he had so full a prejudice against him, that nobody should have cause to fear that he would ever again be received into any trust." And this disposed his majesty to discourse to many in that manner that is before set down.

1154 And when the duke of York lamented to his majesty the reports which were generally spread abroad, of the discourses which he made to many persons of the chancellor's misbehaviour towards himself, and his own displeasure against him; the king denied many of the particulars, as that concerning his ill counsel against the parliament, which he denied to have spoken: but said withal, "that if the chancellor had done as he advised him, and delivered up the seal to him as of his own inclination, all would have been quiet. But since he insisted so much upon it, and compelled him to send for it in that manner, he was obliged in the vindication of his honour to give some reasons for what he had done, when other men took upon them so loudly to commend the chancellor, and to justify his innocence, not without some reflection upon his own honour and justice, which he could not but take very ill: but he should not suffer," he said, "for what other men did, and that he would use his two sons as kindly as ever he had done." And it must be always acknowledged, that though great importunity was used to his majesty, to discharge his two sons from his service, as a thing necessary by all the rules of policy, not to suffer the sons to remain so near his person, when their father lay under so notorious a brand of his displeasure, (in which they believed they had so far prevailed, that they took upon them to promise their places to other men :) [yet] the king positively refused to yield to them, and continued his favour still to them both in the same manner he had done. And though he was long after persuaded to suspend his eldest son from waiting,

under which cloud he continued for many months, yet at last he was restored to his place with circumstances of extraordinary favour and grace : nor did his majesty afterwards recede from his goodness towards either of them, notwithstanding all the attempts which were made.

1155 The parliament met upon the 10th of October, when the king in a short speech told them, “that there had been some former miscarriages, which had occasioned some differences between him and them : but that he had now altered his counsels, and made no question but that they should henceforward agree, for he was resolved to give them all satisfaction ; and did not doubt but that they would supply his necessities, and provide for the payment of his debts ;” with an insinuation, “that what had been formerly done amiss had been by the advice of the person whom he had removed from his counsels, and with whom he should not hereafter advise.”

1156 When the house of commons came together, one Tomkins, a man of very contemptible parts and of worse manners, (who used to be encouraged by men of design to set some motion on foot, which they thought not fit to appear in themselves till they discerned how it would take,) moved the house, “that they might send a message of thanks to the king for his gracious expressions, and for the many good things which he had done, and particularly for his removing the chancellor ;” which was seconded by two or three, but rejected by the house as a thing unreasonable for them who knew not the motives which had disposed his majesty : and so a committee was appointed to prepare such a message as might be fit for them to send. And the house of [lords] the same day sent to the king, without consulting with the house of commons, to give his majesty thanks for the speech he had made to them in the morning, which commonly used to be done. The king declared himself very much offended that the proposition in the house of commons for re-

turning thanks to him had not succeeded, and more that it had been opposed by many of his own servants; and commanded them “to press and renew the motion: that his honour was concerned in it; and therefore he would expect thanks, and would take it very ill of any of his own servants who refused to concur in it.” Hereupon it was again moved: but notwithstanding all the labour that had been used contrary to all custom and privilege of parliament, the question held six hours’ debate, very many speaking against the injustice and irregularity of it; they on the other side urging the king’s expectation of it. In the end, the question being put, it was believed the noes [were] the greater number: but the division of the house was not urged for many reasons; and so the vote was sent to the house of lords, who were desired to concur with them.

1157 But it had there a greater contradiction. They had already returned their thanks to the king; and now to send again, and to add any particular to it, would be very incongruous and without any precedent: and therefore they would not concur in it. This obstinacy very much displeased the king: and he was persuaded by those who had hitherto prevailed with him, to believe that this contradiction, if he did not master it, would run through all his business that should be brought into that house. Whereupon his majesty reproached many of the lords for presuming to oppose and cross what was so absolutely necessary for his service: and sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, “that he should in his majesty’s name command all the bishops’ bench to concur in it; and if they should refuse it, he would make them repent it;” with many other very severe reprehensions and animadversions. This being done in so extraordinary a manner, the duke of York told his majesty, “how much it was spoken of and wondered at:” to which his majesty replied, “that his honour was engaged, and that he would not be satis-



fied, if thanks were not returned to him by both houses ; and that it should go the worse for the chancellor if his friends opposed it." And he commanded his royal highness that he should not cross it, but was contented to dispense with his attendance, and gave him leave to be absent from the debate ; which liberty many others likewise took : and so when it was again moved, though it was still confidently opposed, it was carried by a major part, many being absent.

1158 And so both houses attended the king and gave him thanks, which his majesty graciously received as a boon he looked for, and said somewhat that implied that he was much displeased with the chancellor ; of which some men thought they were to make the best use they could. And therefore, after the king's answer was reported to the house of peers, as of course whatsoever the king says upon any message is always reported, it was proposed, "that the king's answer might be entered into the Journal Book ;" which was rejected, as not usual, even when the king himself spoke to both houses : nor was what he now said entered in the house of commons. However, when they had consulted together, [finding] that they had not yet so particular a record of the displeasure against the chancellor, as what he had said upon this message did amount unto, they moved the house again, "that it might be entered in the book : " and it was again rejected. All which would not serve the turn ; but the duke of Buckingham a third time moved it, as a thing the king expected : and thereupon it was entered.

1159 And his majesty now declared to his brother and to many of the lords, "that he had now all he desired, and that there should be no more done to the chancellor." And without doubt the king had not at this time a purpose to give any further countenance to the animosity of his enemies, who thought that what was already done was too easy a composition, and told his majesty, "that, if he were not

prosecuted further, he would gain reputation by it: for that the manner in which all votes had been yet carried was rather a vindication than censure of him; and he would shortly come to the house with more credit to do mischief, and to obstruct whatsoever related to his service. But that such things would be found against him, as soon as men were satisfied that his majesty had totally deserted him, (which yet they were not,) that he would have no more credit to do good or harm." Hereupon there were several cabals entered into, who invited and sent for persons of all conditions, who had any business depending before the chancellor, or charters passed the seal; and examined them whether he had not received money from them, or they were otherwise grieved by him, promising that they should receive ample reparation.

1160 The duke of Buckingham, and some others with him, sent for sir Robert Harlow, who had the year before gone to the Barbadoes with the lord Willoughby, who had much friendship for him; yet after they came thither, they grew unsatisfied with each other to that degree, that the lord Willoughby, who was governor of those islands, removed him from the office he had conferred on him, and sent him by the next shipping into England; where he arrived full of vexation for the treatment he had received, and willing to embrace any opportunity to be revenged on the governor. Him the duke of Buckingham sent for, who he knew was privy to all the lord Willoughby's counsels, and asked him, "what money the lord Willoughby had given the chancellor for that government," (for it was well known that the chancellor had been his chief friend in procuring that government for him, and in discountenancing and suppressing those who in England or in the islands had complained of him,) "and what money he had received from those islands; and that it was probable that he had some influence upon the lord Willoughby towards the disgrace himself had undergone:"

and added, "that he would do the king a very acceptable service, in discovering any thing of the chancellor's mis-carriages, of which his majesty himself knew so much." To which the gentleman answered, "that he had no obligation to the chancellor that would restrain him from declaring any thing that might be to his prejudice; but that he was not able to do it: nor did he believe that he had ever received any money from the lord Willoughby or from the islands." And this kind of artifice and inquisition was used to examine all his actions; and they who were known to be any way offended with him, or dis-obliged by him, were most welcome to them.

1161 After many days spent in such close contrivances and combinations, Mr. Seymour, a young man of great confidence and boldness, stood up in the house of commons, and spake long and with great bitterness against the chancellor, and "of his great corruption in many particulars, by which," he said "he had gotten a vast estate. That he had received great sums of money from Ireland, for making a settlement that every body complained of, and that left that kingdom in as great distraction as ever it had been. That he had gotten great sums of money indirectly and corruptly from the plantations, the governments whereof he had disposed; by preferments in the law and in the church; and for the passing of charters: and that he had received four thousand pounds from the Canary company for the establishing that company, which was so great and general a grievance to the kingdom. And, which was above all this, that he had traitorously persuaded, or endeavoured to persuade, the king to dissolve the parliament, and to govern by a standing army; and that he had said, that four hundred country gentlemen were only fit to give money, and did not understand how an invasion was to be resisted." He mentioned many other odious particulars, "which," he said, "he would prove," and therefore proposed, "that they would pre-

sently send up to the lords to accuse him of high treason, and require that his person might be secured." Some others seconded him with very bitter invectives: and as many gave another kind of testimony, and many reasons which made it improbable that he could be guilty of so many heinous crimes; and "that it would be unreasonable that he should be accused of high treason by the house, before such proofs should be presented to them of crimes, that they had reason to believe him guilty." And so after many hours' debate, what they proposed for the present accusing him was rejected, and a committee appointed to consider of all particulars which should be presented against him; "upon reporting whereof to the house, it would give such further order as should be just."

1162 The confident averment of so many particulars, and the so positively naming the particular sums of money which he had received, with circumstances not likely to be feigned; and especially the mentioning of many things spoken in council, "which," they said, "would be proved by privy counsellors;" and other particular advices given in private to the king himself, "which," they implied, and confidently affirmed in private, "the king himself would acknowledge;" made that impression upon many who had no ill opinion of the chancellor, and upon others who had always thought well of him, and had in truth kindness for him, that of both sorts several messages of advice were secretly sent to him, "that he would preserve his life by making an escape, and transporting himself into foreign parts; for that it was not probable there could be so extreme and violent a prosecution, if they had not such evidence against him as would compass their ends." To all which he answered, "that he would not give his enemies that advantage as to fly from them: and in the mean time desired his friends to retain the good opinion they had always had of him, until they heard somewhat proved

that would make him unworthy of it; and then he would be well contented they should withdraw it." And it appeared afterwards, that though some of his good friends had advised that he should secure himself by flight, it proceeded from the advertisements that they had received through other hands, which came originally from his chiefest enemies, who desired that he might appear to be guilty by avoiding a trial; and who confidently informed many men, "that the impeachment was ready, and had been perused by the king, and that his majesty had with his hand struck out an article which related to the queen's marriage, and another that concerned the marriage of the duke; but that there was enough left to do the business; and that the duke of Buckingham should be made high steward for the trial."

1163 These reports, being spread abroad, wrought upon the duke to desire the king, "that he would let him know what he did intend; and whether he desired to have the chancellor's life, or that he should be condemned to perpetual imprisonment:" to which his majesty protested, "that he would have neither, but was well satisfied; and that he was resolved to stop all further prosecution against him," which his majesty likewise said to many others. The duke then asked the king, "whether the chancellor had ever given him counsel to govern by an army, or any thing like it; which," he said, "was so contrary to his humour, and to the professions which he had always made, and the advices he had given him, that if he were guilty of it, he should doubt his sincerity in all other things:" to which his majesty answered, "that he had never given him such counsel in his life; but, on the contrary, his fault was, that he always insisted too much upon the law." Whereupon his royal highness asked him, "whether he would give him leave to say so to others;" and his majesty replied, "with all his heart."

1164 The duke then told it to his secretary Mr. Wren, and

to many other persons, and wished them to publish it upon any occasion: upon which it was spread abroad, and Mr. Wren informed many of the members of the house of commons of all that had passed between the king and the duke in that discourse; which so much disheartened the violent prosecutors, that when the committee met that was to present the heads of a charge against him to the house, nobody appeared to give any evidence, so that they adjourned without doing any thing. Hereupon sir Thomas Osborne, a dependant and creature of the duke of Buckingham, and who had told many persons in the country before the parliament met, "that the chancellor would be accused of high treason; and if he were not hanged, he would be hanged himself;" this gentleman went to the king, and informed him what Mr. Wren confidently reported in all places, "which very much dissatisfied that party that desired to do him service; so that they knew not how to behave themselves:" to which his majesty answered, "that Wren was a lying fellow, and that he had never held any such discourse with his brother." This gave them new courage, and they resolved to call Mr. Wren to an account for traducing the king. And his majesty expostulated with the duke for what Mr. Wren had so publicly discoursed: and his highness declared, "that Mr. Wren had pursued his order, his majesty having not only said all that was reported, but [having] given him leave to divulge it;" to which the king made no other answer, "but that he should be hereafter more careful [of] what he said to him."

1165 All this begat new pauses, and no advance [was] made in many days; so that it was generally believed that there would be no further prosecution: but the old argument, that they were gone too far to retire, had now more force, because many members of both houses were now joined to the party in declaring against the chancel-

lor, who would think themselves to be betrayed and deserted, if no more should be done against him. And hereupon the committee was again revived, that was appointed to prepare heads for a charge, which sat many days, there being little debate upon the matter; for such of the committee, who knew him well, were so well pleased to find him accused of nothing but what all the world did believe him not guilty of, [that they] thought they could not do him more right, than to suffer all that was offered to pass, since there appeared no person that offered to make proof of any particular that was suggested. But three or four members of the house brought several papers, containing particulars, “which,” they said, “would be proved:” all which they reported to the house.

1166      The heads were;

I. “That the chancellor had traitorously, about the month of June last, advised the king to dissolve the parliament, and said there could be no further use of parliaments; that it was a foolish constitution, and not fit to govern by; and that it could not be imagined, that three or four hundred country gentlemen could either be prudent men or statesmen: and that it would be best for the king to raise a standing army, and to govern by that; whereupon it being demanded how that army should be maintained, he answered, by contribution and free quarter, as the last king maintained his army in the war.

II. “That he had, in the hearing of several persons, reported, that the king was a papist in his heart, or popishly affected, or had used words to that effect.

III. “That he had advised the king to grant a charter to the Canary company, for which he had received great sums of money.

IV. “That he had raised great sums of money by the sale of offices which ought not to be sold, and granted injunctions to stop proceedings at law, and dissolved them afterwards for money.

V. "That he had introduced an arbitrary government into his majesty's several plantations, and had caused such as had complained to his majesty and privy-council of it to be imprisoned long for their presumption; and that he had frustrated and rejected a proposition that had been made for the preservation of Nevis and St. Christopher's and for the reducing the French plantations to his majesty's obedience.

VI. "That he had caused *quo warrantos* to be issued out against most corporations in England, although the charters were newly confirmed by act of parliament, till they paid him good sums of money, and then the *quo warrantos* were discharged.

VII. "That he had received great sums of money for the settlement of Ireland.

VIII. "That he had deluded the king and betrayed the nation in all foreign treaties and negotiations, especially concerning the late war.

IX. "That he had procured his majesty's customs to be farmed at underrates, knowing them to be so; and caused many pretended debts to be paid by his majesty, to the payment whereof his majesty was not in strictness bound; for all which he had received great sums of money.

X. "That he had received bribes from the company of vintners, that they might continue the prices of their wines, and might be freed from the penalties which they were liable to.

XI. "That he had raised in a short time a greater estate than could be lawfully got; and that he had gotten the grant of several of the crown lands contrary to his duty.

XII. "That he had advised and effected the sale of Dunkirk to the French king, for less money than the ammunition, artillery, and stores were worth.

XIII. "That he had caused the king's letters under the



great seal to one Dr. Crowther to be altered, and the enrolment thereof to be rased.

XIV. "That he had in an arbitrary way examined and drawn into question divers of his majesty's subjects concerning their lands and properties, and determined thereof at the council-table, and stopped the proceedings at law, and threatened some that pleaded the statute of 17 Car.

XV. "That he was a principal author of that fatal counsel of dividing the fleet in June 1666."

1167 The committee reported another article for his charge, which was, "that he had kept correspondence with Cromwell during the time of the king's being beyond the seas, and had sent over his secretary to him, who was shut up with him for many hours:" but there were many members of the house, who wished it had been true, knew well enough that foolish calumny had been examined at Paris during the time that his majesty resided there, when persons of the highest degree were very desirous to have kindled a jealousy in the king of the chancellor's fidelity; and that the scandal appeared so gross and impossible, that his majesty had then published a full vindication of his innocence; with a further declaration, "that when it should please God to restore him to his own dominions, he should receive such further justice and reparation, as the laws would enable him to procure." And it was well known to divers of the members present, that the persons who were suborned in that conspiracy had acknowledged it since the king's return; and the persons themselves who had suborned them had confessed it, and begged the chancellor's pardon: of all which his majesty had been particularly and fully informed. And that it might be no more ripped up or looked into, they seemed to reject it as being included under the act of indemnity, which they would have left him to have pleaded for the infamy of it, if they had not very well known the grossness of the scandal.

1168 Though the fierceness of the malice that was contracted against him was enough known and taken notice of, yet the heads for the charge, which upon so much deliberation were prepared and offered to the house against him, were of such a nature, that all men present did in their own conscience acquit him: and therefore it was generally believed the prosecutors would rather have acquiesced with what they had done to blast his reputation, than have proceeded further, to bring him to answer for himself. But they had gone too far to retire. And they who had first wrought upon the king, only by persuading him, "that there was so universal a hatred against the chancellor, that the parliament would the first day accuse him of high treason; and that the removing him from his office was the only way to preserve him, except he would in such a conjuncture, and when he had so much need of the parliament, sacrifice all his interest for the protection of the chancellor," (and this was the sole motive that had prevailed with him, as his majesty not only assured him the last time he spake with him, with many gracious expressions, but at large expressed it to very many persons of honour, who endeavoured to dissuade him from pursuing that counsel, "that it was the only expedient for the chancellor's preservation," with as great a testimony of his integrity and the services he had done him as could be given:) the same men now importuned him, "to prosecute with all his power, and to let those of his servants and others who regarded his commands know, that they could not serve him and the chancellor together; and that he should look upon their adhering to him as the abandoning his majesty's service. That the chancellor had so great a faction in both houses, that no proposition on his majesty's behalf would have effect; and that he would shortly come to the house of peers, and obstruct all proceedings there."

1169 This prevailed so far, that they resumed their former

courage, and pressed “that he might be accused by the house of commons of high treason : upon which the lords would presently commit him to the Tower : and then nobody would have any longer apprehension of his power to do hurt.” Hereupon they resolved again to consider the several heads of the charge they had provided, to see if they could find any one upon which they could ground an accusation of high treason. They spent a whole day upon the first head, which they thought contained enough to do their work, it containing the most unpopular and ungracious reproach that any man could lie under ; “that he had designed a standing army to be raised, and to govern the kingdom thereby ; he advised the king to dissolve the present parliament, to lay aside all thoughts of parliaments for the future, to govern by military power, and to maintain the same by free quarter and contribution.”

1170 The chancellor had been bred of the gown ; and in the first war, in which the last king had been involved by a powerful rebellion, was known always to have advanced and embraced all overtures towards peace. Since the king’s return he laboured nothing more, than that his majesty might enter into a firm peace with all his neighbours, as most necessary for the reducing his own dominions into that temper of subjection and obedience, as they ought to be in. It was notorious to all men, that he had most passionately dissuaded the war with Holland, with much disadvantage to himself ; and that no man had taken so much pains as he to bring the present peace to pass, which at that time was grateful to all degrees of men : and, in a word, that he had no manner of interest or credit with the soldiers ; but was looked upon by them all, as an enemy to the privileges which they required, of being exempted from the ordinary rules of justice, in which he always opposed them.

1171 But let the improbability of this charge be what it

would, there were persons of the house who pretended that it should be fully proved; and so the question was only, "whether upon it they should charge him with an accusation of treason:" and after a debate of eight hours, it was declared by all the lawyers of the house, "that how foul soever the charge seemed to be, yet it contained no high treason;" and in that conclusion they at last concurred who were most relied upon to support the accusation. But when the speaker directed the order to be drawn, "that the earl of Clarendon should not be accused of high treason," it was alleged, that the order was only to relate to that first head; some men declaring, "that though that article had missed him, yet there were others which would hit him:" and so the night being come, the farther debate was adjourned to another day.

1172 When the day appointed came, (in which interval all imaginable pains and arts were used, by threats and promises, to allure and terrify as many as could be wrought upon, either to be against the chancellor, or to be absent at the next debate that concerned him,) upon reading the several other heads as they had been presented from the committee, it appeared to all men, that though all that was alleged were proved, the whole would not amount to make him guilty of high treason. And they got no ground by throwing aspersions upon him upon the several arguments, which they did with extraordinary license who were known to be his enemies; for thereby other men of much better reputations, and who had no relation to the chancellor, took occasion to answer and contradict their calumnies, and to give him such a testimony, as made him another man than they would have him understood to be; and their testimony had more credit: so that they declined the pursuit of that license, and intended wholly the discovery of the treason, since no other accusation would serve their turn.

1173 When they had examined all their store, they pitched

at last upon that head, “that he had deluded and betrayed his majesty and the nation in all foreign treaties and negotiations relating to the late war:” which when read and considered, it was said, “that in those general expressions there was not enough contained upon which they could accuse him of high treason, except it were added, that being a privy counsellor, he had discovered the king’s secret counsels to the enemy.” Which was no sooner said, than a young confident man, the lord Vaughan, son to the earl of Carbery, a person of as ill a face as fame, his looks and his manners both extreme bad, asked for the paper that had been presented from the committee, and with his own hand entered into that place those words, “that being a privy counsellor he had discovered the king’s secrets to the enemy,” which he said he would prove; whilst many others whispered into the ears of those who sat next to them, “that he had discovered all the secret resolutions to the king of France, which,” they said, “was the ground of the king’s displeasure towards him.” [Upon] this confident insinuation from persons who were near the person of his majesty, and known to have much credit with him; and the positive averment by a member, “that the disclosing the king’s secrets to the enemy,” which nobody could deny to be treason, “would be positively and fully proved against him,” and the rather because no man believed it to be true; it was voted, “that they should impeach him of high treason in the usual manner to the house of peers.” Whereupon Mr. Seymour, who had appeared very violent against him, was sent up to the lords; and at the bar he accused Edward earl of Clarendon of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanours, and desired “that he might be sequestered from that house, and his person secured.”

1174 And as soon as he was withdrawn, some of the lords moved, “that he might be sent for:” and now the warmth that had been so long within the walls of the house of

commons appeared in the house of peers. Many of the lords, who were not thought much inclined to the person of the chancellor, represented, "[that] the consequence of such a proceeding would reflect to the prejudice of every one of the peers. If upon a general accusation from the house of commons of high treason, without mentioning any particular, they should be obliged to commit 'any peer; any member that house should be offended with, how unjustly soever, might be removed from the body: which would be a greater disadvantage than the members of the house of commons were liable to." And therefore they advised, "that they should for answer let the house of commons know, that they would not commit the earl of Clarendon until some particular charge was exhibited against him."

1175 On the other side, it was urged with much passion, "that they ought to comply with the house of commons in satisfying their requests, according to former precedents:" and the case of the earl of Strafford, and some other cases in that parliament, were cited; which gave those who were of another mind opportunity to inveigh against that time, and the accursed precedents thereof, which had produced so many and great mischiefs to the kingdom. They put them in mind, "that they had committed eleven bishops at one time for high treason, only that they might be removed from the house, whilst a bill passed against their having votes any more in that house, which was no sooner passed than they were set at liberty; which had brought great scandal and great reproach upon the honour and justice of the parliament: and that both those bills, for the attainder of the earl of Strafford and for the excluding the bishops out of the house of peers, stand at present repealed by the wisdom and authority of this parliament." In a word, after many hours' debate with much passion, either side adhering obstinately to their opinion, no resolution was taken; but the house

adjourned, without so much as putting the question, to the next day.

1176 From the time of the parliament's coming together, and after the king's displeasure was generally taken notice of, many of the chancellor's friends advised him to withdraw, and transport himself into foreign parts; and some very near the king, and who were witnesses of the very great displeasure his majesty every day expressed towards him, were of the same opinion: but he positively refused so to do, and resolved to trust to his innocence, which he was sure must appear.

1177 The debate continued still between the two houses, which would entertain no other business: the house of commons in frequent conferences demanding the commitment of the chancellor; and the major part of the house of peers, notwithstanding all the indirect prosecution and interposition from the court, remaining as resolved not to commit him. In this unhappy conjuncture, the duke of York, who expressed great affection and concernment for the chancellor, fell sick of the smallpox; which proved of great disadvantage to him. For not only many of the peers who were before restrained by their respect to him, and supported by his countenance in the debates, either changed their minds, or absented themselves from the house; but the general, who had always professed great friendship to the chancellor, who had deserved very well from him, and had endeavoured to dissuade the king from withdrawing his favour from him with all possible importunity, was now changed by the unruly humour of his wife, and the frequent instances of the king; and made it his business to solicit and dispose the members of both houses, with many of whom he had great credit, "no longer to adhere to the chancellor, since the king resolved to ruin him, and would look upon all who were his friends as enemies to his majesty." Notwithstanding all which, the major part by much of the house of peers continued

still firm against his commitment: with which the king was so offended, that there were secret consultations of sending a guard of soldiers, by the general's authority, to take the chancellor out of his house, and to send him to the Tower; whither directions were already sent what lodging he should have, and caution given to the lieutenant of the Tower, who was thought to have too much respect for the chancellor, "that he should not treat him with more civility than he did other prisoners."

1178 He had many friends of the council and near the king, who advertised him of those and all other intrigues, and thereupon renewed their importunity that he would make his escape; and some of them undertook to know, and without question did believe, "that his withdrawing would be grateful to the king," who every day grew more incensed against him, for the obstinacy his friends in both houses expressed on his behalf. They urged "the ill condition he must in a short time be reduced to, wherein his innocence would not secure him; for it was evident that his enemies had no purpose or thought of bringing him to a trial, but to keep him always in prison, which they would in the end one way or other bring to pass: whereas he might now easily transport himself, and avoid all the other inconveniences." And they undertook to know, "that if he were gone, there would be no further proceeding against him."

1179 There could not be a more terrifying or prevalent argument used towards his withdrawing, than that of a prison; the thought and apprehension whereof was more grievous to him than of death itself, which he was confident would quickly be the effect of the other. However, he very resolutely refused to follow their advice; and urged to them "the advantage he should give his enemies, and the dishonour he should bring upon himself, by flying, in having his integrity condemned, if he had not the confidence to defend it." He said, "he could now appear,



wherever he should be required, with an honest countenance, and the courage of an innocent man: but if he should be apprehended in a disguise running away, which he could not but expect by the vigilance of his enemies, (since he could not make any journey by land, being at that time very weak and infirm,) he should be very much out of countenance, and should be exposed to public scorn and contempt. And if he should make his escape into foreign parts, it would not be reasonable to expect or imagine that his enemies, who had so far aliened the king's affection from him, and in spite of his innocence prevailed thus far, would want power to prosecute the advantage they should get by his flight, which would be interpreted as a confession of his guilt; and thereupon they would procure such proceedings in the parliament, as might ruin both his fortune and his fame.'

1180 His friends, how unsatisfied soever with his resolution, acquiesced for the present, after having first prevailed with him to write himself to the king; which he did, though without any hope that it would make any impression upon him. He could not comprehend or imagine from what fountain, except the power of the great lady with the conjunction of his known enemies, which had been long without that effect, that fierceness of his majesty's displeasure could proceed. He had, before this storm fell upon him, been informed by a person of honour who knew the truth of it, "that some persons had persuaded the king, that the chancellor had a principal hand in the marriage of the duke of Richmond, with which his majesty was offended in the highest degree: and the lord Berkley had reported it with all confidence." Whereupon the chancellor had expostulated with the lord Berkley, whom he knew to be his secret enemy, though no man made more outward professions to him: but he denied he had reported any such thing. And then he took notice to the king himself of the discourse, and desired to know,

“whether any such story had been represented to his majesty, since there was not the least shadow of truth in it:” to which the king answered with some dryness, “that no such thing had been told to him.” Yet now he was assured, “that that business stuck most with his majesty, and that from that suggestion his enemies had gotten credit to do him the worst offices; and his majesty complained much of the insolence with which he used to treat him in the agitation and debate of business, if he differed from him in opinion.” Upon these reasons he writ this letter in his own hand to the king, which was delivered to him by the lord keeper, who was willing to perform that office. The letter was in these words:

“May it please your majesty,

1181 “I am so broken under the daily insupportable instances of your majesty’s terrible displeasure, that I know not what to do, hardly what to wish. The crimes which are objected against me, how passionately soever pursued, and with circumstances very unusual, do not in the least degree fright me. God knows I am innocent in every particular as I ought to be; and I hope your majesty knows enough of me to believe that I had never a violent appetite for money, that could corrupt me. But, alas! your majesty’s declared anger and indignation deprives me of the comfort and support even of my own innocence, and exposes me to the rage and fury of those who have some excuse for being my enemies; whom I have sometimes displeased, when (and only then) your majesty believed them not to be your friends. I hope they may be changed; I am sure I am not, but have the same duty, passion, and affection for you, that I had when you thought it most unquestionable, and which was and is as great as ever man had for any mortal creature. I should die in peace, (and truly I do heartily wish that God Almighty would free you from further trouble, by taking me to himself,) if I could know or guess at the ground of your displeasure, which I am sure must proceed from your believing, that I have said or done somewhat I have neither said [nor] done. If it be for any thing my lord Berkley hath reported, which I know he hath said to many, though being charged with it by me he did as positively

disclaim it; I am as innocent in that whole affair, and gave no more advice or counsel or countenance in it, than the child that is [not] born: which your majesty seemed once to believe, when I took notice to you of the report, and when you considered how totally I was a stranger to the persons mentioned, to either of whom I never spake word, or received message from either in my life. And this I protest to your majesty is true, as I have hope in heaven: and that I have never wilfully offended your majesty in my life, and do upon my knees beg your pardon for any overbold or saucy expressions I have ever used to you; which, being a natural disease in old servants who have received too much countenance, I am sure hath always proceeded from the zeal and warmth of the most sincere affection and duty.

“I hope your majesty believes, that the sharp chastisement I have received from the best-natured and most bountiful master in the world, and whose kindness alone made my condition these many years supportable, hath enough mortified me as to this world; and that I have not the presumption or the madness to imagine or desire ever to be admitted to any employment or trust again. But I do most humbly beseech your majesty, by the memory of your father, who recommended me to you with some testimony, and by your own gracious reflection upon some one service I may have performed in my life, that hath been acceptable to you; that you will by your royal power and interposition put a stop to this severe prosecution against me, and that my concernment may give no longer interruption to the great affairs of the kingdom; but that I may spend the small remainder of my life, which cannot hold long, in some parts beyond the seas, never to return; where I will pray for your majesty, and never suffer the least diminution in the duty and obedience of,

“ May it please your majesty,  
Your majesty’s  
Most humble and most  
Obedient subject and servant,  
CLARENDON.”

*From my house  
this 16th of November.*

1182 The king was in his cabinet when the letter was delivered to him; which as soon as he had read, he burned

in a candle that was on the table, and only said, "that there was somewhat in it that he did not understand, but that he wondered that the chancellor did not withdraw himself:" of which the keeper presently advertised him, with his earnest advice that he would be gone.

1183 The king's discourse was according to the persons with whom he conferred. To those who were engaged in the violent prosecution he spake with great bitterness of him, repeating many particular passages, in which he had shewed much passion because his majesty did not concur with him in what he advised. To those who he knew were his friends he mentioned him without any bitterness, and with some testimony of his having served him long and usefully, and as if he had pity and compassion for him: yet "that he wondered that he did not absent himself, since it could not but be very manifest to him and to all his friends, that it was not in his majesty's power to protect him against the prejudice that was against him in both houses; which," he said, "could not but be increased by the obstruction his particular concernment gave to all public affairs in this conjuncture; in which," he said, "he was sure he would prevail at last." All these advertisements could not prevail over the chancellor, for the reasons mentioned before; though he was very much afflicted at the division between the two houses, the evil consequence whereof he well understood, and could have been well content that the lords would have consented to his imprisonment.

1184 The bishop of Hereford, who had been very much obliged to the chancellor, and throughout this whole affair had behaved himself with very signal ingratitude to him, and thereby got much credit in the court, went to the bishop of Winchester, who was known to be a fast and unshaken friend to the chancellor; and made him a long discourse of what the king had said to him, and desired him "that he would go with him to his house;"

which he presently did, and, leaving him in a room, went himself to the chancellor, and told him what had passed from the bishop of Hereford, “who was in the next room to speak with him, but would not in direct words to him acknowledge that he spake by the king’s order or approbation; but that he had confessed so much to him with many circumstances, and that the lord Arlington and Mr. Coventry had been present.” The chancellor had no mind to see or speak with the bishop, who had carried himself so unworthily towards him, and might probably misreport any thing he should say: but he was overruled by the other bishop, and so they went both into the next room to him.

1185 The bishop of Hereford in some disorder, as a man conscious to himself of some want of sincerity towards him, desired “that he would believe that he would not at that time have come to him, with whom he knew he was in some umbrage, if it were not with a desire to do him service, and if he had not a full authority for whatsoever he said to him.” Then he enlarged himself in discourse more involved and perplexed, without any mention of the king, or the authority he had for what he should say; the care to avoid which was evidently the cause of the want of clearness in all he said. But the bishop of Winchester supplied it by relating all that he had said to him: with which though he was not pleased, because the king and others were named, yet he did not contradict it; but said, “he did not say that he was sent by the king or spake by his direction, only that he could not be so mad as to interpose in such an affair without full authority to make good all that he should promise.” The sum of all was, “that if the chancellor would withdraw himself into any parts beyond the seas, to prevent the mischiefs that must befall the kingdom by the division and difference between the two houses; he would undertake upon his salvation,” which was the expression

he used more than once, "that he should not be interrupted in his journey; and that after he should be gone, he should not be in any degree prosecuted, or suffer in his honour or fortune by his absence."

1186 The chancellor told him, "that he well understood what he must suffer by withdrawing himself, and so declining the trial, in which his innocence would secure him, and in the mean time preserve him from being terrified with the threats and malice of his enemies: however, he would expose himself to that disadvantage, if he received his majesty's commands to that purpose, or if he had but a clear evidence that his majesty did wish it, as a thing that he thought might advance his service. But without that assurance, which he might receive many ways which could not be taken notice of, he could not with his honour or discretion give his implacable enemies that advantage against him, when his friends should be able to allege nothing in his defence."

1187 The bishop replied, "that he was not allowed to say that his majesty required or wished it, but that he could not be so mad as to undertake what he had promised, without sufficient warrant;" and repeated again what he had formerly said. To which the other answered, "that the vigilance and power of his enemies was well known: and that though the king might in truth wish that he were safe on the other side of the sea, and give no direction to interrupt or trouble him in his journey; yet that it was liable to many accidents in respect of his weakness and infirmity," which was so great at that time, that he could not walk without being supported by one or two; so that he could not be disguised to any body that had ever known him. Besides that the pain he was already in, and the season of the year, made him apprehend, that the gout might so seize upon him within two or three days, that he might not be able to move: and so the malice of those who wished his destruction might very

probably find an opportunity, without or against the king's consent, to apprehend and cast him into prison, as a fugitive from the hand of justice. For the prevention of all which, which no man could blame him for apprehending, he proposed, "that he might have a pass from the king, which he would not produce but in such an exigent: and would use all the providence he could, to proceed with that secrecy that his departure should not be taken notice of; but if it were, he must not be without such a protection, to preserve him from the present indignities to which he must be liable, though possibly it would not protect him from the displeasure of the parliament." The bishop thought this proposition to be reasonable, and seemed confident that he should procure the pass: and so that conference ended.

1188 The next day the bishop sent word, "that the king could not grant the pass, because if it should be known, by what accident soever, it would much incense the parliament: but that he might as securely go as if he had a pass;" which moved no further with him, than his former undertaking had done. Nor could the importunity of his children, or the advice of his friends, persuade him to depart from his resolution.

1189 About the time of the chancellor's disgrace, monsieur Ruvigny arrived at London as envoy extraordinary from the French king, and came the next day after the seal was taken from him. He was a person well known in the court, and particularly to the chancellor, with whom he had been formerly assigned to treat upon affairs of moment, being of the religion and very nearly allied to the late earl of Southampton. And as these considerations were the chief motives that he was made choice of for the present employment, so the chief part of his instructions was to apply himself to the chancellor, through whose hands it was known that the whole treaty that was now happily concluded, and all the preliminaries with

France, had entirely passed. When he found that the conduct of affairs was quite changed, and that the chancellor came not to the court, he knew not what to do, but immediately despatched an express to France for further instructions. He desired to speak with the chancellor; which he refused, and likewise to receive the letters which he had brought for him and offered to send to him, all which he desired might be delivered to the king. When the proceedings in parliament went so high, Ru-vigny, who had at all hours admission to the king, and intimate conversation with the lord Arlington, and so easily discovered the extreme prejudice and malice that was contracted against the chancellor, sent him frequent advertisements of what was necessary for him to know, and with all possible earnestness advised him, when the divisions grew so high in the houses, “that he would withdraw and retire into France, where,” he assured him, “he would find himself very welcome.” All which prevailed no more with him than the rest. And so another week passed after the bishop’s proposition, with the same passion in the houses: and endeavours were used to incense the people, as if the lords obstructed the proceeding of justice against the chancellor by refusing to commit him; and Mr. Seymour told the lord Ashley, “that the people would pull down the chancellor’s house first, and then those of all the lords who adhered to him.”

1190 By this time the duke of York recovered so fast, that the king, being assured by the physicians that there would be no danger of infection, went on Saturday morning, the 29th of November, to visit him: and being alone together, his majesty bade him “advise the chancellor to be gone,” and blamed him that he had not given credit to what the bishop of Hereford had said to him. The king had no sooner left the duke, but his highness sent for the bishop of Winchester, and bade him tell the chancellor from him, “that it was absolutely necessary



for him speedily to be gone, and that he had the king's word for all that had been undertaken by the bishop of Hereford."

1191 As soon as the chancellor received this advice and command, he resolved with great reluctancy to obey, and to be gone that very night: and having, by the friendship of sir John Wolstenholme, caused the farmers' boat to wait for him at Erith, as soon as it was dark he took coach at his house Saturday night, the 29th of November 1667, with two servants only. And being accompanied with his two sons and two or three other friends on horseback as far as Erith, he found the boat ready; and so embarked about eleven of the clock that night, the wind indifferently good: but before midnight it changed, and carried him back almost as far as he had advanced. And in this perplexity he remained three days and nights before he arrived at Calais, which was not a port chosen by him, all places out of England being indifferent, and France not being in his inclination, because of the reproach and calumny that was cast upon him: but since it was the first that offered itself, and it was not seasonable to affect another, he was very glad to disembark there, and to find himself safe on shore.

1192 All these particulars, of which many may seem too trivial to be remembered, have been thought necessary to be related, it being a principal part of his vindication for going away, and not insisting upon his innocence; which at that time made a greater impression upon many worthy persons to his disadvantage, than any particular that was contained in the charge that had been offered to the house. And therefore though he forebore, when all the promises were broken which had been made to him, and his enenies' malice and insolence increased by his absence, to publish or in the least degree to communicate the true ground and reasons of absenting himself, to avoid any inconvenience that in so captious a season

might thereby have befallen the king's service ; yet it cannot be thought unreasonable to preserve this memorial of all the circumstances, as well as the substantial reasons, which disposed him to make that flight, for the clear information of those, who in a fit season may understand his innocence without any inconvenience to his majesty, of whose goodness and honour and justice it may be hoped, that his majesty himself will give his own testimony, both of this particular of his withdrawing, and a vindication of his innocence from all the other reproaches with which it was aspersed.

1193 I will not omit one other particular, for the manifestation of the inequality that was between the nature of the chancellor and of his enemies, and upon what disadvantage he was to contend with them. Before the meeting of the parliament, when it was well known that the combination was entered into by the lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against the chancellor, several members of the house informed him of what they did and what they said, and told him, “ that there was but one way to prevent the prejudice intended towards him, which was by falling first upon them ; which they would cause to be done, if he would assist them with such information as it could not but be in his power to do. That they were both very odious generally : the one for his insolent carriage towards all men, and for the manner of his getting into that office by dispossessing an old faithful servant, who was forced to part with it for a very good recompense of ten thousand pounds in money and other releases and grants, which was paid and made by the king to introduce a secretary of very mean parts, and without industry to improve them, and one who was generally suspected to be a papist, or without any religion at all ; it being generally taken notice of, that he was rarely seen in a church, and never known to receive the communion. The other was known by his corrupt be-

haviour, and selling all the offices in the fleet and navy for incredible sums of money, and thereby introducing men, who had been most employed and trusted by Cromwell, into the several offices; whilst loyal and faithful seamen who had always adhered to the king, and many of them continued in his service abroad and till his return into England, could not be admitted into any employment: the ill consequence of which to the king's service was very notorious, by the daily manifest stealing and embezzling the stores of ammunition, cordage, sails, and other tackling, which were commonly sold again to the king at great prices. And when the persons guilty of this were taken notice of and apprehended, they talked loudly of the sums they had paid for their offices, which obliged them to those frauds: and that it might not be more notorious, they were, by sir William Coventry's great power and interest, never proceeded against, or removed from their offices and employments."

1194 They told him, "that he never said or did any thing in the most secret council, where they two were always present, and where there were frequent occasions of mentioning the proceedings of both houses, and the behaviour of several members in both, but those gentlemen declared the same, and all that he said or did, to those who would be most offended and incensed by it, and who were like in some conjuncture to be able to do him most mischief: and by those ill arts they had irreconciled many persons to him. And that if he would now, without its being possible to be taken notice of, give them such information and light into the proceedings of those gentlemen, they would undertake to divert the storm that threatened him, and cause it to fall upon the others." And this was with much earnestness pressed to him, not only before the meeting of the parliament, and when he was fully informed of the ill arts and ungentlemanly practice those

two persons were engaged in to do him hurt, but after the house of commons was incensed against him; with a full assurance, "that they were much inclined to have accused the other two, if the least occasion was given for it."

1195 But the chancellor would not be prevailed with, saying, "that [no] provocation or example should dispose him to do any thing that would not become him: that they were both privy counsellors, and trusted by the king in his most weighty affairs; and if he discerned any thing amiss in them, he could inform the king of it. But the aspersing or accusing them any where else was not his part to do, nor could it be done by any without some reflection upon the king and duke, who would be much offended at it: and therefore he advised them in no degree to make any such attempt on his behalf; but to leave him to the protection of his own innocence and of God's good pleasure, and those gentlemen to their own fate, which at some time would humble them." And it is known to many persons, and possibly to the king himself, for whose service only that office was performed, that one or both those persons had before that time been impeached, if the chancellor's sole industry and interest had not diverted and prevented it.

1196 When the chancellor found it necessary, for the reasons aforesaid, to withdraw himself, he thought it as necessary to leave some address to the house of peers, and to make as good an excuse as he could for his absence without asking their leave; which should be delivered to them by some member of their body, (there being many of them ready to perform that civil office for him,) when his absence should be known, or some evidence that he was safely arrived on the other side of the sea. And that time being come, (for the packet boat was ready to depart when the chancellor landed at Calais,) the earl of

Denbigh said, “ he had an address to the house from the earl of Clarendon, which he desired might be read ;” which contained these words :

1197 *To the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled ; the humble petition and address of Edward earl of Clarendon.*

May it please your lordships,

I cannot express the insupportable trouble and grief of mind I sustain, under the apprehension of being misrepresented to your lordships ; and when I hear how much of your lordships’ time hath been spent upon my poor concern, (though it be of no less than of my life and fortune,) and of the differences in opinion which have already or may probably arise between your lordships and the honourable house of commons ; whereby the great and weighty affairs of the kingdom may be obstructed in a time of so general a dissatisfaction.

I am very unfortunate to find myself to suffer so much under two very disadvantageous reflections, which are in no degree applicable to me : the first, from the greatness of my estate and fortune, collected and made in so few years ; which, if it be proportionable to what is reported, may very reasonably cause my integrity to be suspected. The second, that I have been the sole manager and chief minister in all the transactions of state since the king’s return into England to August last ; and therefore that all miscarriages and misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, and to my counsels.

Concerning my estate, your lordships will not believe, that after malice and envy hath been so inquisitive, and is so sharp-sighted, I will offer any thing to your lordships but what is exactly true : and I do assure your lordships in the first place, that, excepting from the king’s bounty, I have never received or taken one penny, but what was generally understood to be the just and lawful perquisites of my office by the constant practice of the best times, which I did in my own judgment conceive to be that of my lord Coventry and my lord Ellesmere, the practice of which I constantly observed ; although the office in both their times was lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I believe now is.

That all the courtesies and favours, which I have been able to

obtain from the king for other persons in church or state or in Westminster-hall, have never been worth me five pound : so that your lordships may be confident I am as innocent from corruption, as from any disloyal thought ; which, after near thirty years' service of the crown in some difficulties and distresses, I did never suspect would have been objected to me in my age.

That I am at present indebted about three or four and twenty thousand pounds, for which I pay interest ; the particulars whereof I shall be ready to offer to your lordships, and for which I have assigned lands and leases to be sold, though at present nobody will buy or sell with me. That I am so far from having money, that from the time the seal was taken from me I have lived upon the coining some small parcels of plate, which have sustained me and my family, all my rents being withheld from me.

That my estate, my debts being paid, will not yield me two thousand pounds per annum, for the support of myself, and providing for two young children, who have nothing : and that all I have is not worth what the king in his bounty hath bestowed upon me, his majesty having out of his royal bounty, within few months after his coming into England, at one time bestowed upon me twenty thousand pounds in ready money, without the least motion or imagination of mine ; and, shortly after, another sum of money, amounting to six thousand pounds or thereabouts, out of Ireland, which ought to have amounted to a much greater proportion, and of which I never heard word, till notice was given me by the earl of Orrery that there was such a sum of money for me. His majesty likewise assigned me, after the first year of his return, an annual supply towards my support, which did but defray my expenses, the certain profits of my office not amounting to above two thousand pounds a year or thereabouts, and the perquisites not very considerable and very uncertain : so that the said several sums of money, and some parcels of land his majesty bestowed upon me, are worth more than all I have amounts to. So far I am from advancing my estate by any indirect means. And though this bounty of his majesty hath very far exceeded my merit or my expectation ; yet some others have been as fortunate at least in the same bounty, who had as small pretences to it, and have no great reason to envy my good fortune.

Concerning the other imputation, of the credit and power of being chief minister, and so causing all to be done that I had a mind to ; I have no more to say, than that I had the good fortune to serve a master of a very great judgment and understanding, and to be always joined with persons of great ability and experience, without whose advice and concurrence never any thing hath been done. Before his majesty's coming into England, he was constantly attended by the then marquis of Ormond, the late lord Colepepper, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas ; who were equally trusted with myself, and without whose joint advice and concurrence, when they were all present, (as some of them always were,) I never gave any counsel.

As soon as it pleased God to bring his majesty into England, he established his privy-council, and shortly out of them a number of honourable persons of great reputation, who for the most part are still alive, as a committee for foreign affairs, and consideration of such things as in the nature of them required much secrecy ; and with these persons he vouchsafed to join me. And I am confident this committee never transacted any thing of moment, his majesty being always present, without presenting the same first to the council-board : and I must appeal to them concerning my carriage, and whether we were not all of one mind in all matters of importance. For more than two years I never knew any difference in the councils, or that there were any complaints in the kingdom ; which I wholly impute to his majesty's great wisdom, and the entire concurrence of his council, without the vanity of assuming any thing to myself : and therefore I hope I shall not be singly charged with any thing that hath since fallen out amiss. But from the time that Mr. Secretary Nicholas was removed from his place, there were great alterations ; and whosoever knows any thing of the court or councils, knows well how much my credit since that time hath been diminished, though his majesty graciously vouchsafed still to hear my advice in most of his affairs. Nor hath there been, from that time to this, above one or two persons brought to the council, or preferred to any considerable office in the court, who have been of my intimate acquaintance, or suspected to have any kindness for me ; and many of them notoriously known to have been very long my enemies, and of different judgment and principles from me both in church and state, and who have taken all opportunities to lessen my credit to the king, and with all other

persons, by misrepresenting and misreporting all that I said or did, and persuading men that I had done them some prejudice with his majesty, or crossed them in some of their pretences ; though his majesty's goodness and justice was such, that it made little impression upon him.

In my humble opinion, the great misfortunes of the kingdom have proceeded from the war, to which it is notoriously known that I was always averse ; and may without vanity say, I did not only foresee, but did declare the mischiefs we should run into, by entering into a war before any alliance made with the neighbour princes. And that it may not be imputed to his majesty's want of care, or the negligence of his counsellors, that no such alliances were entered into ; I must take the boldness to say, that his majesty left nothing unattempted in order thereunto : and knowing very well, that France resolved to begin a war upon Spain, as soon as his catholic majesty should depart this world, (which being much sooner expected by them, they had two winters before been at great charge in providing plentiful magazines of all provisions upon the frontiers, that they might be ready for the war,) his majesty used all possible means to prepare and dispose the Spaniard to that apprehension, offering his friendship to that degree, as might be for the security and benefit of both crowns. But Spain flattering itself with an opinion that France would not break with them, at least, that they would not give them any cause by administering matter of jealousy to them, never made any real approach towards a friendship with his majesty ; but both by their ambassador here, and to his majesty's ambassador at Madrid, always insisted, as preliminaries, upon the giving up of Dunkirk, Tangier, and Jamaica.

Though France had an ambassador here, to whom a project for a treaty was offered, and the lord Hollis, his majesty's ambassador at Paris, used all endeavours to promote and prosecute the said treaty : yet it was quickly discerned, that the principal design of France was to draw his majesty into such a nearer alliance as might advance their designs ; without which they had no mind to enter into the treaty proposed. And this was the state of affairs when the war was entered into with the Dutch, from which time neither crown much considered their making an alliance with England.

As I did from my soul abhor the entering into this war, so I never presumed to give any advice or counsel for the way of



managing it, but by opposing many propositions which seemed to the late lord treasurer and myself to be unreasonable; as the payment of the seamen by tickets, and many other particulars which added to the expense. My enemies took all occasions to inveigh against me: and making friendship with others out of the council of more licentious principles, and who knew well enough how much I disliked and complained of the liberty they took to themselves of reviling all councils and counsellors, and turning all things serious and sacred into ridicule; they took all ways imaginable to render me ingrateful to all sorts of men, (whom I shall be compelled to name in my own defence,) persuading those who miscarried in any of their designs, that it was the chancellor's doing; whereof I never knew any thing. However, they could not withdraw the king's favour from me, who was still pleased to use my service with others; nor was there ever any thing done but upon the joint advice of at least the major part of those who were consulted with. And as his majesty commanded my service in the late treaties, so I never gave the least advice in private, nor writ one letter to any person in either of those negotiations, but upon the advice of the council, and after it was read in council, or at least by the king himself and some others: and if I prepared any instructions or memorials, it was by the king's command, and the request of the secretaries, who desired my assistance. Nor was it any wish of my own, that any ambassadors should give me an account of the transactions, but to the secretaries, with whom I was always ready to advise; nor am I conscious to myself of having ever given advice that hath proved mischievous or inconvenient to his majesty. And I have been so far from being the sole manager of affairs, that I have not in the whole last year been above twice with his majesty in any room alone, and very seldom in the two or three years preceding. And since the parliament at Oxford, it hath been very visible that my credit hath been very little, and that very few things have been hearkened to which have been proposed by me, but contradicted *eo nomine*, because proposed by me.

I most humbly beseech your lordships to remember the office and trust I had for seven years; in which, in discharge of my duty, I was obliged to stop and obstruct many men's pretences, and to refuse to set the seal to many pardons and other grants, which would have been profitable to those who procured them,

and many whereof, upon my representation to his majesty, were for ever stopped; which naturally have raised many enemies to me. And my frequent concurring with the late lord treasurer, with whom I had the honour to have a long and a fast friendship to his death, in representing several excesses and exorbitances, (the yearly issues so far exceeding the revenue,) provoked many persons concerned, of great power and credit, to do me all the ill offices they could. And yet I may faithfully say, that I never meddled with any part of the revenue or the administration of it, but when I was desired by the late lord treasurer to give him my assistance and advice, (having had the honour formerly to serve the crown as chancellor of the exchequer,) which was for the most part in his majesty's presence: nor have I ever been in the least degree concerned in point of profit in the letting any part of his majesty's revenue, nor have ever treated or debated it but in his majesty's presence: in which, my opinion concurred always with the major part of the counsellors who were present. All which, upon examination, will be made manifest to your lordships, how much soever my integrity is blasted by the malice of those, who I am confident do not believe themselves. Nor have I in my life, upon all the treaties or otherwise, received the value of one shilling from all the kings and princes in the world, (except the books of the Louvre print sent me by the chancellor of France by that king's direction,) but from my own master; to whose entire service, and to the good and welfare of my country, no man's heart was ever more devoted.

This being my present condition, I do most humbly beseech your lordships to retain a favourable opinion of me, and to believe me to be innocent from those foul aspersions, until the contrary shall be proved; which I am sure can never be by any man worthy to be believed. And since the distemper of the time, and the difference between the two houses in the present debate, with the power and malice of my enemies, who give out, that I shall prevail with his majesty to prorogue or dissolve this parliament in displeasure, and threaten to expose me to the rage and fury of the people, may make me looked upon as the cause which obstructs the king's service, and the unity and peace of the kingdom; I must humbly beseech your lordships, that I may not forfeit your lordships' favour and protection, by withdrawing myself from so powerful a persecution; in hopes I may be able, by such withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make my defence;

when his majesty's justice, to which I shall always submit, may not be obstructed nor controlled by the power and malice of those who have sworn my destruction.

1198 The chancellor knew very well, that there were members enough in both houses who would be very glad to take any advantage of his words and expressions: and therefore as he weighed them the best he could himself in the short time from which he took his resolution to be gone; so he consulted with as many friends as that time would allow, to the end that their jealousy and wariness might better watch, that no expression might be liable to a sinister interpretation, than his own passion and indisposition could provide. And as they all thought it necessary that he should leave somewhat behind him, that might offer an excuse for his absence; so they did not conceive, that the words before mentioned could give any offence to equal judges. But the least variety or change of wind moved those waters to wonderful distempers and tempests.

1199 This address was no sooner read, by which they perceived he was gone, but they who had contributed most to the absenting himself, and were privy to all the promises which had invited him to it, seemed much troubled that he had escaped their justice; and moved, "that orders might be forthwith sent to stop the ports, that so he might be apprehended;" when they well knew that he was landed at Calais. Others took exceptions at some expressions, "which," they said, "reflected upon the king's honour and justice:" others moved, "that it might be entered in their Journal Book, to the end that they might further consider of it when they should think fit;" and this was ordered.

1200 The houses till this time had continued obstinate in their several resolutions; the commons every day pressing, "that he might be committed upon their general accusa-

tion of treason," (for though they had amongst themselves and from their committee offered those particulars which are mentioned before, yet they presented none to the house of peers;) and the lords as positively refusing to commit him, till some charge should be presented against him that amounted to treason. But now all that debate was at an end by his being out of their reach, so that they pursued that point no further; which, being matter of privilege, should have been determined as necessarily as before, for the prevention of the like disputes hereafter. But the commons wisely declined that contention, well knowing that their party in the house, that was very passionate for the commitment of the chancellor, would be as much against the general order as any of the rest had been: and the lords satisfied themselves with sending a message to the house of commons, "that they found by the address which they had received that morning, and which they likewise imparted to them, that the earl of Clarendon had withdrawn himself; and so there was no further occasion of debate upon that point."

1201 The address was no sooner read in that house, but they who had industriously promoted the former [resolution] were inflamed, as if this very instrument would contribute enough to any thing that was wanting; and they severally arraigned it, and inveighed against the person who had sent it with all imaginable bitterness and insolence: whilst others, who could not in the hearing it read observe that malignity that it was accused of, sat still and silent, as if they suspected that somewhat had escaped their observations and discovery, that so much transported other men; or because they were well pleased that a person, against whom there was so much malice and fury professed, was got out of their reach. In conclusion, after long debate it was concluded, "that the paper contained much untruth and scandal and sedition in it, and that it should be publicly burned by the hand of the

hangman;" which vote they presently sent to the lords for their concurrence, who, though they had not observed any such guilt in it before, would maintain no further contests with them, and so concurred in the sentence: and the poor paper was accordingly with solemnity executed by the appointed officer, which made the more people inquisitive into the contents of it; and having gotten copies of it, they took upon them to censure the thing and the person with much more clemency and compassion, and thought he had done well to decline such angry judges.

1202 When the chancellor found himself at Calais, he was unresolved how to dispose of himself, only that he would not go to Paris, against which he was able to make many objections: and in this irresolution he knew not how to send any directions to his children in England, to what place they should send his servants and such other accommodations as he should want; and therefore stayed there till he might be better informed, and know somewhat of the temper of the parliament. In the mean time he writ letters to the earl of St. Alban's at Paris, from whose very late professions he had reason to expect civility, and that was all he did expect; never imagining that he should receive any grace from the queen, or that it was fit for him to cast himself at her feet, whilst he was in his majesty's displeasure. Only he desired to know, "whether there would be any objection against his coming to Roan," and desiring, "if there were no objection against it, that a coach might be hired to meet him on such a day at Abbeville." The lieutenant governor of Calais had, upon his first arrival there, given advertisement to the court of it: and by the same post that he received a very dry letter from the earl of St. Alban's, in which he said, "he thought that court would approve of his coming to Roan;" he received likewise a letter of great civility from the count de Louvois, secretary of state, in which he con-

gratulated his safe arrival in France, and told him, "that his majesty was well pleased with it, and with his purpose of coming to Roan, where he should find himself very welcome." At the same time letters were sent to the lieutenant governor of Calais, Boulogne, and Montrevil, "to treat him as a person of whom the king had esteem, and to give him such an escort as might make his journey secure;" of all which he received advertisement, and "that a coach would be ready at Abbeville to wait for him at the day he had appointed."

1203 And now he thought he might well take his resolution ; and thereupon gave direction, "that such of his family, whose attendance he could not be well without, might with all expedition be with him at Roan ; and such monies might be likewise returned thither for him, as were necessary," for he had not brought with him supply enough for long time. And so he provided to leave Calais, that he might be warm in his winter-quarters, as soon as might be, which both the season of the year, it being now within few days of Christmas, and his expectation of a speedy defluxion of the gout, made very requisite. When he came to Boulogne, he found orders from the marshal D'Aumont to his lieutenant for a guard to Montrevil, the Spanish garrisons making frequent incursions into those quarters : and at Montrevil the duke D'Elbœuf visited him, and invited him to supper, which the chancellor was so much tired with his journey that he accepted not ; but was not suffered to refuse his coach the next day to Abbeville, where he found a coach from Paris ready to carry him to Roan.

1204 It was Christmas-eve when he came to Dieppe, and it was a long journey the next day to Roan ; which made him send to the governor, to desire that the ports might be open much sooner than their hour, which was granted : so that he came to a very ill inn, well known at Tostes, near the middle way to Roan, about noon. And when he

was within view of that place, a gentleman, passing by in a good gallop with a couple of servants, asked, “whether the chancellor of England was in that coach;” and being answered, “that he was,” he alighted at the coach-side, and gave him a letter from the king, which contained only credit to what that gentleman, monsieur le Fonde, his servant in ordinary, should say to him from his majesty. The gentleman, after some expressions of his majesty’s grace and good opinion, told him, “that the king had lately received advertisement from his envoy in England, that the parliament there was so much incensed against him, the chancellor, that if he should be suffered to stay in France, it would be so prejudicial to the affairs of his Christian majesty, (to whom he was confident the chancellor wished well,) that it might make a breach between the two crowns; and therefore he desired him to make what speed he could out of his dominions; and that he might want no accommodation for his journey, that gentleman was to accompany him, till he saw him out of France.”

1205 He was marvellously struck with this encounter, which he looked not for, nor could resolve what to do, being at liberty to make his journey which way he would so he rested not, which was the only thing he desired: so he desired the gentleman (for all this conversation was in the highway) “to come into the coach, and to accompany him to Roan, where they would confer further.” The gentleman, though he was a very civil person, seemed to think that it would be better to return to Dieppe, and so to Calais, as the shortest way out of France: but he had no commission to urge that, and so condescended to go that night to Roan; with a declaration, “that it was necessary for him to be the next day very early in the coach, which way soever he intended to make his journey.”

1206 It was late in the night before they reached Roan:

and the coach was overthrown three times in the gentleman's sight, who chose to ride his horse ; so that the chancellor was really hurt and bruised, and scarce able to set his foot to the ground. And therefore he told the gentleman plainly, " that he could not make any journey the next day : but that he would presently write to Paris to a friend, who should inform the king of the ill condition he was in, and desire some time of rest ; and that as soon as he had finished his letter, he would send an express with it, who should make all possible haste in going and coming." Monsieur le Fonde assured him, " the matter was so fully resolved, that no writing would procure any time to stay in France ; and therefore desired him to hasten his journey, which way soever he intended it." But when he saw there was no remedy, he likewise writ to the court, and the chancellor to the earl of St. Alban's, from whom he thought he should receive offices of humanity, and to another friend, upon whose affection he more depended : and with those letters the express was despatched.

1207 They who had prevailed so far against him in England were not yet satisfied, but contrived those ways to disquiet him as much in France, by telling monsieur Ruvigny, (who was too easily disposed to believe them,) " that the parliament was so much offended with the chancellor, that it would never consent that the king should enter into a close and firm alliance with France," which it was his business to solicit, " whilst he should be permitted to stay within that kingdom : " when in truth all the malice against him was contained within the breasts of few men, who by incensing the king, and infusing many false and groundless relations into him, drew such a numerous party to contribute to their ends.

1208 When he was now gone, they observed to the king, " what a great faction there was in both houses that adhered to the chancellor," who were called Clarendonians ;



and when any opposition was made to any thing that was proposed, as frequently there was, "it was always done by the Clarendonians:" whose condition they thought was not desperate enough, except they proceeded further than was yet done. They laboured with all their power, that he might be attainted of high treason by act of parliament, and that both his sons might be removed from the court: both which, notwithstanding all their importunity, his majesty positively refused to consent to. Then they told him, "that the chancellor only waited the season that the parliament should be confirmed in ill humour, to which they were inclined; and then he would return and sit in the house to disturb all their counsels, and obstruct all his service: and therefore they proposed, since he had fled from the hand of justice, that there could be no more prosecution for his guilt," (which was untrue, for they might as well have proceeded and proved the crimes objected against him if they could,) "a bill of banishment," which they had prepared, "might be brought in against him;" which his majesty consented to, notwithstanding all that the duke of York urged to the contrary upon the king's promise to him, and which had only betrayed the chancellor to making his escape. But the king alleged, "that the condescension was necessary for his good, and to compound with those who would else press that which would be more mischievous to him."

1209 Whereupon a bill for his banishment was preferred, only upon his having declined the proceeding of justice by his flight, without so much as endeavouring to prove one of the crimes they had charged upon him: and this bill was passed by the two houses, and confirmed by the king; of whom they had yet so much jealousy, that they left it not in his power to pardon him without the consent of the two houses of parliament. And this act was to be absolute, "except by a day appointed," (which was so short, that it was hardly possible for him to comply

with it, except he could have rode post,) “he should appear before one of the secretaries of state, or deliver himself to the lieutenant of the Tower, who was to detain him in custody till he had acquainted the parliament with it: in the mean time no person was to presume to hold any correspondence with him, or to write to him, except his own children or his menial servants, who were obliged to shew the letters which they sent or received to one of the secretaries of state.”

1210 The express that had been sent to Paris returned with reiterated orders to monsieur le Fonde to hasten the chancellor's journey, and not to suffer him to remain there; who executed the commands he had received with great punctuality and importunity. The earl of St. Alban's did not vouchsafe to return any answer to his letter, or to interpose on his behalf, that he might rest till he might securely enter upon his journey: only abbot Mountague writ very obligingly to him, and offered all the offices could be in his power to perform, and excused the rigour of the court's proceedings, as the effect of such reason of state, as would not permit any alteration whilst they had that apprehension of the parliament; and therefore advised him “to comply with their wishes, and make no longer stay in Roan, which would not be permitted.” But the general indisposition of his body, the fatigue of his journey, and the bruises he had received by the falls and overturnings of the coach, made him not able to rise out of his bed; and the physicians, who had taken much blood from him, exceedingly dissuaded it. All which, how visible soever, prevailed not with his French conductor to lessen his importunity that he would go, though it was evident he could not easily stand; of which no doubt he gave true and faithful advertisement to the court, though the jealousy of being not thought active enough in his trust made his behaviour much less civil than is agreeable to the custom of that nation.

1211 However, the chancellor, hardened by the inhumanity of his treatment, writ such a letter in Latin to monsieur de Lionne, by whose hand all the ungentle orders to monsieur le Fonde had been transmitted, as expressed the condition he was in, and his disability to comply with his majesty's commands, until he could recover more strength; not without complaint of the little civility he had received in France. And he writ likewise to the abbot Mountague, "to use his credit with monsieur de Tellier," upon whose humanity he more depended, to interpose with his Christian majesty, that he might not be pressed beyond what his health would bear." And since at that time he resolved to make his journey to Avignon, that he might be out of the dominions of France, he desired, "that he might have liberty to rest some days at Orleans, until his servants who were upon the sea, and brought with them many things which he wanted, might come to him; and that he might afterwards, in so long a journey in the worst season of the year, have liberty to take such repose as his health would require; in which he could not affect unnecessary delay, for the great charge and expense it must be accompanied with."

1212 The answer he received from monsieur de Lionne was the renewing the king's commands for his speedy departure, "as a thing absolutely necessary to his affairs, and which must not be disputed." But that which affected him the more tenderly, was the sight of a billet which abbot Mountague sent to him, that he had received from monsieur de Tellier, in which he said, "that he had, according to his desire, moved his Christian majesty concerning the chancellor of England; and that his majesty was much displeased that he made not more haste to comply with what was most necessary for his affairs, and that it must be no longer delayed; and that if he chose

to pass to Avignon, he might rest one day in ten, which was all his majesty would allow.”

1213 This unexpected determination, without the least ceremony or circumstance of remorse, signified by a person who he was well assured was well inclined to have returned a more grateful answer, in the instant suppressed all hopes of finding any humanity in France, and raised a resolution in him to get out of those dominions with all the expedition that was possible: which his French conductor urged with new and importunate instance; inso-much as though there was sure information, that the ship, in which the chancellor's servants and goods were embarked, was arrived at the mouth of the river, and only kept by the cross wind from coming up to the town; he would by no means consent to the [delay] of one day in expectation of it, or that his servants might come to him by land, as he had sent to them to do.

1214 At this very time arrived an express, a servant of his, sent by his children, with a particular account of all the transactions in parliament, and of the bill of banishment; of nothing of which he had before heard, and upon which the duke of York, who looked upon himself as ill used by that prosecution, was of opinion, “that the chancellor should make all possible haste, and appear by the day appointed, and undergo the trial, in which he knew his innocence would justify him.” This advice, with a little indignation at the discourtesy of the court of France, diverted him from any further thought of Avignon. And though he did not imagine that his strength would be sufficient to perform the journey by the day assigned, (for the gout had already seized upon both his feet,) nor did the arguments for his return satisfy him; and the breach of all the promises which had been made was no sign that they meant speedily to bring him to trial, towards which they had not yet made any preparation: yet he resolved

to make all possible haste to Calais, that it might be in his power to proceed according to such directions as he might reasonably expect to receive there from his friends from England, and from whence he might quickly remove into the Spanish dominions ; though the climate of Flanders, well known to him, terrified him in respect of the season and his approaching gout. And with this resolution he despatched the express again for England ; and left order with a merchant at Roan, “to receive his goods when the ship should arrive, and detain both them and his servants till he should send further orders from Calais :” and at the same time he writ to a friend in Flanders, to speak to the marquis of Carracena, with whom he had formerly held a fair correspondence, “to send him a pass to go through that country to what place he should think fit.” And having thus provided for his journey, he departed from Roan, after he had remained there about twenty days.

1215 In how ill a condition of health soever he was to travel, when the days were at shortest, he resolved to make no stay till he should reach Calais, to the end, that if he met with no advice there to the contrary, he might be at London by the day limited by the proclamation, which was the first of February that style : and it was the last of January the French style when he arrived at Calais, so broken with the fatigue of the journey and the defluxion of the gout, that he could not move but as he was carried, and was so put into a bed ; and the next morning the physicians found him in a fever, and thought it necessary to open a vein, which they presently did. But the pains in all his limbs so increased, that he was not able to turn in his bed ; nor for many nights closed his eyes. Many letters he found there from England, but was not in a condition to read them, nor in truth could speak and discourse with any body. Monsieur le Fonde, out of pure compassion, suffered him to remain some days without

his vexation, until he received fresh orders from Paris, "that the chancellor might not, in what case soever, be suffered to remain in Calais:" and then he renewed his importunity, "that he would the next day leave the town, and either by sea or land, if he thought it not fit to pass for England, put himself into the Spanish dominions, which he might do in few hours."

1216 He was so confounded with the barbarity, that he had no mind to give him any answer; nor could he suddenly find words, their conversation being in Latin, to express the passion he was in. At last he told him, "that he must bring orders from God Almighty as well as from the king, before he could obey: that he saw the condition he was in, and conferred every day with his physicians, by which he could not but know, that he could neither help himself, nor endure the being carried out of that chamber, if the house were in a flame; and therefore that he did not use him like a gentleman, in adding his unreasonable importunities to the vexation he suffered by pain and sickness. That he might be very confident, his treatment had not been so obliging to make him stay one hour in France, after he should be able to go out of it: but he would not willingly endanger himself by sea to fall into the hands of his enemies. That he knew" (for he had shewed him his letter) "that he had written into Flanders for a pass, which was not yet come: as soon as it did, if he could procure a litter and endure the motion of it, he would remove to St. Omer's or Newport, which were the nearest places under the Spanish government."

1217 To all which he replied with no excess of courtesy, "that he must and would obey his orders as he had done; and that he had no power to judge of his disability to remove, or of the pain he underwent." And there is no doubt the gentleman, who was well bred, and in his nature very civil, was not pleased with his province, and much troubled that he could not avoid the delivery of the

orders he received : and the conjuncture of their affairs was such, with reference to the designs then on foot, that every post brought reiterated commands for the chancellor's remove ; which grew every day more impossible, by the access of new pain to the weakness he was in for want of sleep without any kind of sustenance.

1218 Notwithstanding which, within few days after the last encounter, upon fresh letters from monsieur de Lionne, the gentleman came again to him, told him what orders he had received, and again proposed, " that he would either make use of a boat to Newport or Ostend, or a brancard to St. Omer's ; either of which he would cause to be provided against the next morning, for the king's service was exceedingly concerned in the expedition." And when he saw the other was not moved with what he said, nor gave him any answer, he told him plainly, " that the king would be obeyed in his own dominions ; and if he would not choose to do that which the king had required, he must go to the governor, who had authority and power to compel him, which he durst not but do." Upon which, with the supply of spirit that choler administered to him, he told him, " that though the king was a very great and powerful prince, he was not yet so omnipotent, as to make a dying man strong enough to undertake a journey. That he was at the king's mercy, and would endure what he should exact from him as well as he was able : it was in his majesty's power to send him a prisoner into England, or to cause him to be carried dead or alive into the Spanish territories ; but he would not be *felo de se*, by willingly attempting to do what he and all who saw him knew was not possible for him to perform." And in this passion he added some words of reproach to le Fonde, which were more due to monsieur de Lionne, who in truth had not behaved himself with any civility : whereupon he withdrew in the

like disorder, and for some days forbore so much as to see him, in which he had never before failed a day.

1219 And the chancellor, who really did believe that some force and violence would be used towards him, presently sent to desire the chief magistrates of the town and the lieutenant governor to come to him; and then told them all the treatment he had received from monsieur le Fonde, and appealed to them "whether they thought him in a condition to perform any journey." And the physicians being likewise present, he required them to sign such a certificate and testimony of his sickness as they thought their duty, which they readily performed; very fully declaring under their hands, "that he could not be removed out of the chamber in which he lay, without manifest danger of his life." And the lieutenant governor and the president of justice seemed much scandalized at what had been so much pressed, of which they had taken notice many days: and the one of them wrote to the count of Charrou, governor of the town and then at court, and the other to monsieur de Lionne, what they thought fit; and the certificate of the physicians was enclosed to the abbot Mountague, with a full relation of what had passed. And it was never doubted, but that monsieur le Fonde himself made a very faithful relation of the impossibility that the chancellor could comply with what was required, in the state of sickness and pain that he was in at present.

1220 By this time the French court discovered that they were prevented of entering into that strait alliance they hoped with England, (and for obtaining whereof they had gratified the proud and malicious humours of the duke of Buckingham and lord Arlington in the treatment of the chancellor,) by the triple league, which they had used all those compliances to prevent: so that by the next post after the receipt of the certificate from the physicians, monsieur de Lionne writ a very civil letter to the



chancellor, in which he protested, “that he had the same respect for him which he had always professed to have in his greatest fortune, and that it was never in the purpose of his Christian majesty to endanger his health by making any journey that he could not well endure; and therefore that it was left entirely to himself to remove from Calais when he thought fit, and to go to what place he would.” And monsieur le Fonde came now again to visit him with another countenance, by which a man could not but discern, that he was much better pleased with the commission he had received last, than with the former; and told him, “that he was now to receive no orders but from himself, which he would gladly obey.”

1221 This gave him some little ease in the agony he was in, for his pains increased to an intolerable degree, insomuch that he could not rise out of his bed in six weeks. And it was the more welcome to him, because at the same time he received an account from his friend in Flanders, “that the marquis of Castille Roderigo, with as much regret as a civil man could express, protested, that the fear he had of offending the parliament at that time would not permit him to grant a pass: but if he would come to Newport, he should find the governor there well prepared and disposed to shew him all possible respect, and to accommodate him in his passage throughout the country, where it would not be convenient for him to make any stay: and that he looked upon it as a great misfortune to himself, that he might not wait upon him in his passage.” This made it easy for him to discern, that his enemies would not give him any rest in any place where their malice could reach him: and since they were so terrible that the marquis of Castille Roderigo durst not grant him a pass, he thought it would be no hard matter for them to cause some affront to be put on him when he should be without any pass; though he had not the least

suspicion of the marquis's failing in point of honour or courtesy.

1222 At the same time he received advice from his friends in England, "that the storm from France was over, and that he might be permitted to stay in any part thereof; and for the present they wished that he would repair to the waters of Bourbon for his health, and then choose such a place to reside in, as upon inquiry he should judge most proper." But he was not yet so far reconciled to that court, though he liked the climate well, as to depend upon its protection: and therefore he resumed his former purpose of going to Avignon, and, if he could recover strength for the journey before the season should be expired for drinking the waters of Bourbon, to pass that way. And to that purpose he sent to the court "for a pass to Avignon, with liberty to stay some days at Roan," where his goods and his monies were, (for his servants had come from thence to him to Calais,) "and to use the waters of Bourbon in his way:" all which was readily granted.

1223 It was the third of April, before he recovered strength enough to endure a coach: and then, having bought a large and easy coach of the president of Calais, he hired horses there. And so he begun his journey for Roan, being still so lame and weak that he could not go without being supported: and the first day had a very ill omen by the negligence of the coachman, who passing upon the sands between Calais and Boulogne, when the sea was flowing, drove so unadvisedly, (which he might have avoided, as the horsemen and another coach did,) that the sea came over the boot of the coach, to the middle of all those who sat in it; and a minute's pause more had inevitably overthrown the coach, (the weight whereof only then prevented it,) and they had been all covered with the sea. And two days after, by the change

of the coachman for a worse, he was overthrown in a place almost as bad, into a deep and dirty water, from whence he was with difficulty and some hurt drawn out. Both which wonderful deliverances were comfortable instances that God would protect him, of which he had within few days a fresh and extraordinary evidence.

1224 When he came to Roan, he received all those orders he had desired from the court. And a letter from abbot Mountague assured him, “that he need no more apprehend any discommodity from orders of the court, but might be confident of the contrary, and of all respect that could be shewed him from thence: that he might stay at Roan as long as his indisposition required; and when he had made use of the waters of Bourbon, he might retire to any place he would choose to reside in.” Monsieur le Fonde had orders, “after he had accompanied the chancellor two or three days’ journey towards Bourbon, except he desired his company longer, to return to the court.” Only monsieur de Lionne desired, “that he would not in his journey come nearer Paris than the direct way required him to do, because the emperor’s agent at London, the baron of Isola, had confidently averred, that the king had one day gone incognito from the Bois de Vincennes to meet the chancellor, and had a long private conference with him.”

1225 When he had stayed as long at Roan as was necessary for the taking a little physic and recovering a little strength, the season required his making haste to Bourbon: and so on the 23d of April he began his journey from thence; and that he might comply with the directions of monsieur de Lionne, he chose to go by the way of Eureux, and to lodge there that night. And because he was unable to go up a pair of stairs, he sent a servant before, as he had always done, to choose an inn where there was some ground-lodging, which often was attended with discommodity enough, and now (besides

being forced to go through the city into the suburbs) was like to cost him very dear.

1226 There happened to be at that time quartered there a foot company of English seamen, who had been raised and were entertained to serve the French in attending upon their artillery, some of them being gunners; and none of them had the language, but were attended by a Dutch conductor, who spake ill English for their interpreter. Their behaviour there was so rude and barbarous, in being always drunk, and quarrelling and fighting with the townsmen who would not give them any thing they demanded, that the city had sent to the court their complaints, and expected orders that night for their remove. They quickly heard of the chancellor's being come to the town; and calling their company together declared, "that there were many months' pay due to them in England, and that they would make him pay it before he got out of the town."

1227 He was scarce gotten into his ill ground-lodging, when many of them flocked about the house: upon which the gates of the inn were shut, they making a great noise, and swearing they would speak with the chancellor; and, being about the number of fifty, they threatened to break open the gate or pull down the house. The mutiny was notorious to all the street; but they had not courage to appear against them: the magistrates were sent to; but there was a difference between them upon the point of jurisdiction, this uproar being in the suburbs. In short, they broke open the door of the inn: and when they were entered into the court, they quickly found which was the chancellor's chamber. And the door being barricadoed with such things as were in the room, they first discharged their pistols into the window, with which they hurt some of the servants, and monsieur le Fonde, who with his sword kept them from entering in at the window with great courage, until he was shot with a brace

of bullets in the head, with which he fell: and then another of the servants being hurt, they entered in at the window, and opened the door for the rest of their company, which quickly filled the chamber.

1228 The chancellor was in his gown, sitting upon the bed, being not able to stand; upon whom they all came with their swords drawn: and one of them gave him a blow with a great broadsword upon the head, which if it had fallen upon the edge must have cleft his head; but it turned in his hand, and so struck him with the flat, with which he fell backward on the bed. They gave him many ill words, called him “traitor,” and swore, “before he should get out of their hands he should lay down all their arrears of pay.” They differed amongst themselves what they should do with him, some crying “that they would kill him,” others, “that they would carry him into England:” some had their hands in his pockets, and pilaged him of his money and some other things of value; others broke up his trunks and plundered his goods. When himself recovered out of the trance in which he was stunned by the blow, they took him by the hand who spake of carrying him into England, and told him, “it was the wisest thing they could do to carry him thither, where they would be well rewarded:” another swore, “that they should be better rewarded for killing him there.” And in this confusion, the room being full, and all speaking together, the fellow who had given him the blow, whose name was Howard, a very lusty strong man, took him by the hand, and swore, “they should hurt one another if they killed him there; and therefore they would take him into the court and despatch him where there was more room.” And thereupon others laid their hands upon him and pulled him to the ground, and then dragged him into the court, being in the same instant ready to run their swords into him together: when in the moment their ensign, and some of the magistrates with a

guard, came into the court, the gate being broken; and so he was rescued out of their bloody hands, and carried back into his chamber.

1229 Howard and many of the other, some whereof had been hurt with swords as they entered at the window, were taken and carried to prison, and the rest dispersed, vowing revenge when they should get the rest of their company together: and it cannot be expressed with how much fear the magistrates, and the poor guard that attended them, apprehended their coming upon them together again.

1230 The chancellor himself had the hurt before mentioned in his head, which was a contusion, and already swollen to a great bigness; monsieur le Fonde was shot into the head with a brace of bullets, and bled much, but seemed not to think himself in danger; two of the chancellor's servants were hurt with swords, and lost much blood: so that they all desired to be in some secure place, that physicians and surgeons might visit them. And by this time many persons of quality of the town, both men and women, filled the little chamber; bitterly inveighing against the villainy of the attempt, but renewing the dispute of their jurisdiction. And the provost, who out of the city was the greater officer, would provide an accommodation for them in his own house in the city, and appoint a guard for them; which the magistrates of the city would not consent to, nor he to the expedient proposed by them. And this dispute with animosity and very ill words continued in the chamber till twelve of the clock at night, the hurt persons being in the mean time without any remedy or ease: so that the magistrates, though they were not so dangerous, were as troublesome as the seamen, against whom they were not yet secure upon a second attempt.

1231 In the end, monsieur le Fonde was forced to raise his voice louder than was agreeable to the state he was in, to threaten to complain of them to the king, for their neglect

before and after the mischief was done: by which they were much moved, and presently sent to the governor of the duke of Bouillon's castle, (which is a good and noble house in the town,) "that he would receive the chancellor and monsieur le Fonde, with such servants as were necessary for their attendance;" which he did with great courtesy, and gave them such accommodation as in an unfurnished house could on the sudden be expected. And so physicians and surgeons visited their wounds, and applied such present remedies as were necessary, till upon some repose they might make a better judgment.

1232 The same night there were expresses despatched to the court to give advertisement of the outrage, and to Roan to inform the intendant in whose province it was committed: and he the next day with a good guard of horse arrived at Eureux. After he had visited the chancellor, with the just sense of the insolence he had undergone, and of the indignity that the king and his government had sustained; he proceeded in the court of justice to examine the whole proceedings, and much blamed the magistrates on all sides for their negligence and remissness. Upon the whole examination there appeared no cause to believe, that there was any formed design in which any others had concurred than they who appeared in the execution, who defended themselves by being drunk, which did not appear in any other thing than in the barbarity of the action. Yet it was confessed, that upon their first arrival at Dieppe, and whilst they were quartered there, the chancellor then passing by between Roan and Calais, they had a resolution to have robbed or killed him, if they had not been prevented by his getting the gates opened, and so going away before the usual hour.

1233 The surgeons found monsieur le Fonde's wound to be more dangerous than they had apprehended, and that at least one of the bullets remained still in the wound, and

doubted that it might have hurt the scull, in which case trepanning would be necessary; which made him resolve, though he was feverish, presently to have a brancard made, and to be put into it in his bed, and so with expedition to be carried to Paris, where he was sure to find better operators, besides the benefit and convenience of his own house and family. And so the third day after his misadventure, and after he had given his testimony to the intendant, he was in that manner, and attended by a surgeon, conveyed to Paris; and, by the blessing of God, recovered without the remedy that had been proposed.

<sup>1234</sup> The chancellor, after he had [been] bled once or twice, found himself only in pain with the blow, without any other symptoms which frequently attend great contusions; and therefore he positively rejected the proposition of trepanning, which had been likewise earnestly urged by the surgeons: and upon application of such plasters and ointments as were prescribed, he found both the pain and swelling lessen by degrees, though the memory of the blow lasted long; so that he thought himself fit enough for his journey, and was impatient to be out of that unlucky town; and his servants, having only flesh-hurts, could endure the coach as well as he. The intendant, who knew his desire, and was willing to defer his judgment till he was gone from thence, was very well content that he should proceed in his journey, and sent his sons with his own troop to convoy him two or three leagues out of the town; and appointed the provost with his troop of horse to attend him to his lodging that night, and farther if he desired it. And the next day he condemned Howard and two others, an Englishman, a Scotchman, and an Irishman, (for the company consisted of the three nations,) to be broken upon the wheel; which was executed accordingly. And shortly after his arrival at Bourbon, monsieur de Lionne writ a very civil letter to the chancellor, "of the trouble the king



sustained for the affront and danger he had undergone ; and that his majesty was very ill satisfied, that so few as three had been sacrificed to justice for so barbarous a crime.”

<sup>1235</sup> When he had stayed as long at Bourbon in the use of the waters as the physicians prescribed, (in which time he found a good recovery of his strength, save that the weakness of his feet still continued in an uneasy degree ; ) and [had] received great civilities during his abode there from all the French of quality, men and women, who came thither for the same remedies, and with whom the town then abounded ; he prosecuted his journey to Avignon : and having stayed a week at Lyons, without any new ill accident he arrived about the middle of June there, by the pleasant passage of the Rhone.

<sup>1236</sup> Though he desired to make his journey as privately as he could, and had no more servants in his train than was necessary to the state of health he was in ; yet he was known in most places by the presence of English, or by some other accident. And some friends at Paris had given such advertisement to Avignon, that when he arrived there, he had no sooner entered into a private lodging, which he procured the next day, but the vice-legate came to visit him in great state and with much civility, offering all the commodities of that place, if he would reside there. The archbishop, a very reverend and learned prelate, a Genoese, as the vice-legate likewise was, performed the same ceremony to him ; and afterwards the consuls and magistrates of the city in a body, (who made a speech to him in Latin, as all the rest treated him in that language,) and all the principal officers of the court : so that he could not receive more civility and respect in any place ; which, together with the cheapness and convenience of living, and the pleasantness of the country about it, might have inclined him to reside there. Yet the ill savour of the streets by the multitude of dyers

and of the silk manufactures, and the worse smell of the Jews, made him doubt that it could be no pleasant place to make an abode in during the heat of summer: and therefore receiving new confirmation by letters from Paris, “that he was entirely at liberty to reside where he would in France,” he resolved to take a view of some places before he would conclude where to fix; and the fame of Montpellier, that was within two little days’ journey, invited him thither. And so after a week’s stay at Avignon, and after having returned all the visits he had received, he went from thence, and came to Montpellier in the beginning of July.

<sup>1237</sup> It was his very good fortune, that an English lady of eminent virtue and merit, the lady viscountess Mordaunt, who had in the beginning of the winter before, in as great weakness of body as nature can subsist with, transported herself thither, remained still at Montpellier; where she had miraculously, by the benefit of that air, recovered a comfortable degree of health: and the news of her being still there was a great motive to his journey from Avignon thither. The chancellor had no mind to be taken notice of; but some relations which that lady made to his advantage, and the great esteem that city had of her, made his reception there more formal and ceremonious than he desired.

<sup>1238</sup> The marquis de Castro, governor of the city and castle, visited him, and welcomed him to the town, though he had not so much as a pass to come thither. The premier president, and all the other courts, and the consul and other magistrates of the city, visited him in their several bodies, and entertained him in Latin. It is true, that some days after, the intendant of the province (who was not then in the town) came thither; and he had received orders from the court, as soon as it was known that the chancellor was in Montpellier, “that he should be looked upon and treated as a person of whom the most Christian

king had a good esteem :” and so, as soon as he came to the town, he visited him with much ceremony, and told him, “that he had received a particular command from the king to do him all the services he could in that city, and in the province of Languedoc.” And it must be confessed, that during his residence in Montpellier, which was not above one or two months less than three years, he did receive as much civility and formal courtesy from all persons of all conditions in that place, or who occasionally resorted thither, as could have been performed towards him, if he had been sent thither as a public person. And when the duke of Vernueil (who was governor of the province, and used to convene the States thither every year) came to Montpellier, as he did three times in those three years, he always visited the chancellor, and shewed a very great respect to him : which was as great a countenance as he could receive.

1239 Yet he did always acknowledge, that he owed all the civilities which he received at his first coming thither, and which were upon the matter the first civilities he had received in France, purely to the friendship of the lady Mordaunt, and to the great credit she had there : and for which, and the consolation he received from her during the time of her stay there, he had ever a great respect for her and her husband ; who, coming likewise thither, when he received information from England of a design to assassinate him by some Irish, manifested a noble affection for him, and stayed some months longer than he intended to have done, that he might see the issue of that design. Of which he had a just sense, and transmitted the information of it to his children, to the end that they and his friends might, upon all opportunities, acknowledge it to them both.

1240 And in truth the great respect the place had for him was notorious, when in that any English came thither, and forbore to pay any respect to the chancellor ; as only

one gentleman did, sir Richard Temple, who publicly declared, "that he would not visit him," and dissuaded others from doing it, as a matter the parliament would punish them for, and shewed much vanity and insolence in his discourses concerning him: [but] he found so little countenance from any person of condition, though he called himself "the premier president of the parliament of England," and such a general aversion towards him; that as they who came with him, and his other friends, deserted him and paid their civilities to the chancellor, so himself grew so ridiculous, that he left the town sooner than he intended, and left the reputation behind him of a very vain, humorous, and sordid person.

1241 And having thus accompanied the chancellor through all his ill treatments and misadventures to Montpelier, where he resolved to stay, it will be to no purpose further to continue this relation; otherwise than as himself afterwards communicated his private thoughts and reflections to his friends.

1242 When he found himself at this ease, and with those convenient accommodations, that he might reasonably believe he should be no more exposed to the troubles and distresses which he had passed through; he began to think of composing his mind to his fortune, and of regulating and governing his own thoughts and affections towards such a tranquillity, as the sickness of mind and body, and the continued sharp fatigue in the six or seven precedent months, had not suffered to enter into any formed deliberation. And it pleased God in a short time, after some recollections, and upon his entire confidence in him, to restore him to that serenity of mind, and resignation of himself to the disposal and good pleasure of God, that they who conversed most with him could not discover the least murmur or impatience in him, or any unevenness in his conversations. He resolved to improve his understanding of the French language, not towards

speaking it, the defect of which he found many conveniences in, but for the reading any books; and to learn the Italian: towards both which he made a competent progress, and had opportunity to buy or borrow any good books he desired to peruse.

1243 But in the first place he thought he was indebted to his own reputation, and [obliged] for the information of his children and other friends, to vindicate himself from those aspersions and reproaches which the malice of his enemies had cast upon him in the parliament; which, though never reduced into any formal or legal charge, nor offered to be proved by any one witness, were yet maliciously scattered abroad and divulged to take away his credit. And the performance of this work, that was so necessarily incumbent to him, was the more difficult, by his constant and uninterrupted fidelity and zeal for the king's service, and his resolution to say nothing on his own behalf and for his own vindication, that might in the least degree reflect upon his majesty; which consideration had before kept him from charging those who persecuted him, with such indirect and naughty proceedings as might have put an end to their power. Nor did he think fit in that conjuncture, when his majesty had not yet met with that compliance and submission from the parliament since the chancellor's remove, as had been promised to him as the effect of that counsel, to publish, that his coming away (which was the greatest blot upon his reputation) was with the king's privity, and at least with his approbation. However, he was resolved to commit into the custody of his children, who he knew could never commit a fault against his majesty, such a plain, particular defence of his innocence upon every one of the reproaches he had been charged with, that themselves might infallibly know his uprightness and integrity in all his ministry, which they observed and knew too much of to suspect; and might likewise manifestly convince other

men, who were willing to be undeceived : but the manner of doing it, in respect of the former consideration, he left to their discretion. And having prepared this, and caused it to be fairly transcribed, before the lord and lady Mordaunt returned for England ; he committed it to their care, who delivered it safely to the hands of his sons.

1244 They were themselves upon that disadvantage under the reproach of their relation, that the eldest of them was removed from his attendance upon the queen for many months, without the allegation of any crime ; and the other was retained only by the goodness of the king, against the greatest importunity that could be applied : and therefore it concerned them to be very wary in giving any offence, of which their adversaries might take any advantage. Besides, they observed that they, whose credit and interest had done all the mischief to their father, were now fallen out amongst themselves with equal animosity, and had all carried themselves so ill with reference to the public, and so loosely and licentiously in order to a good name, that their being enemies brought little prejudice to any man's reputation ; and many of those, who had been made instruments to deprave the chancellor, were not scrupulous in declaring how they had been cozened, and how unjustly he had been traduced and accused : so that they made no other use of the answer and vindication they had received, than to be thereby enabled to make a perfect relation of some particular matters of fact which were variously reported, and could not be understood by any but those who had been conversant in the transactions.

1245 It will be therefore necessary in this place, since there hath been before so methodical an account of all that the committee brought into the house of commons against him, and never after mentioned when they had once accused him, to insert such a short answer and defence to all that was alleged, out of that vindication which he sent

from Montpellier, that nothing may remain in the possible thoughts of any worthy and uncorrupted man that may reflect upon his sincerity, or leave any taint upon his memory; the preservation of which from being sullied by the misfortunes which befell him, is the only end of this discourse, never to be communicated or perused by any but his nearest relations; who, by the blessing of God, can never but retain that affection and duty to the crown and for the royal family, that by the laws of God and man is due to it and them, and without which they can never expect God's blessing in this or the world to come. And in this I shall observe the order I used before in the mention of the several allegations, omitting upon any particular the repetition of what hath been at large already said in this discourse, which shall be referred to for answer.

1246 To the first then, "That he had designed a standing army, and to govern the kingdom thereby; advised the king to dissolve the present parliament, and to lay aside all thoughts of future parliaments; to govern by military power, and to maintain the same by free quarter and contribution," (which, if true, whether it was treason or no, must worthily have made him odious to all honest men.)

1247 The answer which he then made, and which was dated at Montpellier upon the 24th of July 1668, within few days after his arrival there and resolution to stay there, was in these words. He said, as nothing could be more surprising to him, nor he thought to any man else, than to find himself, after near thirty years' service of the crown in the highest trust; after having passed all the time of his majesty's exile with him beyond the seas and in his service, and in which the indefatigable pains he took was notorious to many nations; and after he had the honour and happiness to return again with his majesty into England, and to receive from him so many

eminent marks of his favour, and to serve him near eight years after his return in the place of the greatest trust, without ever having discovered that his majesty was offended with him, or in truth that he had ever the least ill success from any counsel he had ever given him; or that any persons of honour and reputation, or interest in the nation, had ever made the least complaint against him, or had any thought that the miscarriages (for miscarriages were enough spoken of) had proceeded from him, or from any advice of his: he said, that as after all this he could not but be exceedingly surprised to find himself on a sudden, when he had not the least imagination of it, bereft of the king's favour, and fallen so far from his kindness, even within three or four days after his majesty had vouchsafed to condole with him in his house for the death of his wife, that he resolved to take the great seal from him; so it was no small comfort to him to see and know, that very few men of honour and reputation approved or liked what was done; but that the same was contrived, pursued, and brought to pass by men and women of no credit in the nation; by men, who had never served his majesty or his blessed father eminently or usefully, but most of them of trust and credit under Cromwell, or never of credit to do the king the least service; and who were only angry with him for not being pleased with their vicious and debauched lives, or for opposing and dissuading their loose and unreasonable counsels, which they were every day audaciously administering in matters of the highest moment, with great license and presumption.

1248 But above all, he said, it was of the highest consolation to him, when it was publicly and industriously declared, "that the king was firmly resolved to destroy him, and would take it very well from all men who would contribute thereunto, by bringing in any charge or accusation against him;" when the most notorious enemies he



had were the only persons trusted in employment, men who had most eminently disserved and maliciously traduced the king, and had been to that time looked upon as such by his majesty ; and when all, who were believed to have any kindness for the chancellor, were discountenanced and ill looked upon ; when men of all conditions and degrees were daily solicited and importuned, by promises and threats, to declare themselves against him, at least if they would not be wrought over to do any thing against their conscience, that they would absent themselves from those debates : that all this malice and conspiracy, with so long deliberation and consultation, should not be able at last to produce and exhibit any other charge and accusation against him, but such a one as most men who knew him, or who had any trust or employment in the public affairs, were well able to vindicate him from the guilt of, and even his enemies themselves did not believe. The particulars whereof, he said, as far as he could take notice of them, they having not been to that day reduced into any form, so much as in the house of commons itself, he would then examine : and if he should appear too tedious in the examination and disquisition of them, and to say more than was necessary in his own defence, and to mention many particular persons in another manner than is usual upon occasions of this kind ; he desired it might be remembered and considered, that this was not written as a formal answer to an impeachment, nor like to be published in his lifetime, a judgment of banishment being passed against him (without the least proof made or offered for the making good any one article of treason or misdemeanour) by act of parliament ; but that it was a debt due to his children and posterity, that they might know (how much soever they were involved or might be in the effects of the sharp malice against him) how far he was from any guilt of

those odious crimes which had been so odiously laid to his charge.

1249 And that being his end, he might be excused if he did so far enlarge upon all particulars, that it might be manifest unto them how far he had been from treading in those paths, or having been accessory to those counsels, which had been the source from whence all those bitter waters had flowed, that had corrupted the taste even almost of the whole nation. And in order to that so necessary discourse and vindication of his integrity and honour, he could only take notice of the printed paper of those heads for a charge, that had been reported from the committee to the house; all correspondence and communication being so strictly inhibited to all kind of men to hold any kind of commerce with him, except his children and menial servants, who only had liberty to write unto him of his own domestic affairs; and the letters which they should write or receive were to be first communicated to one of the secretaries of state.

1250 To the charge of the first article itself he said; it was no great vanity to believe, that there was not one person in England of any quality to whom he was in any degree known, who believed him guilty of that charge: and that he wanted not a cloud of witnesses (besides the testimony that he hoped his majesty himself would vouchsafe to give him in that particular) who, from all that they had heard him say in council and in conversation, could vindicate him from having that odious opinion. Having had the honour, by the special command of his late majesty of blessed memory, to attend the prince, his now majesty, into the parts beyond the seas, and to be always with him and in his service those many years of his exile, and till his happy return; he had always endeavoured to imprint in his majesty's mind an affection, esteem, and reverence for the laws of the land; "without the tramp-

ling of which under foot," he told him, "that himself could not have been oppressed; and that by the vindication and support of them, he could only hope and expect honour and security to the crown." Upon that foundation and declared judgment, he said, he came into the service of the king his father, by opposing all irregular and illegal proceedings in parliament; and that he had never swerved from that rule in any advice and counsel he had given to him or to his son.

- <sup>1251</sup> From the time of his majesty's happy return from beyond the seas, he had taken nothing so much to heart, as the establishment of the due administration of justice throughout the kingdom according to the known laws of the land, as the best expedient he could think of for the composing the general distempers of the nation, and uniting the hearts of the people in a true obedience unto, and reverence for, his majesty's person and government. And with what success he had served his majesty in that province, (which he had been pleased principally to commit to his care and trust,) he did appeal to the whole nation; and whether the oldest man could remember, that in the best times justice was ever more equally administered, and with less complaint and murmur; which had been frequently acknowledged from all the parts of the kingdom, and had been often taken notice of by the king himself with great approbation, and confessed by most of the nobility upon several occasions. He said, he had often declared in parliament the king's affection and reverence for the laws, and his resolution neither to swerve from them himself, nor to suffer any body else to do so: and upon the public occasions of swearing the judges in any courts, he had always enjoined them "to be very strict and precise in the administration of justice according to law, with all equality, and without respect of persons, which the king expected from them; and that as his majesty resolved never to interpose by message or

letter for the advancement or favour of any man's right or title, so he would take it very ill, if any subject (how great soever) should be able to pervert them." And he did believe there had never passed so many years together in any age, in which the crown had not in the least degree interposed in any cause or title depending in Westminster-hall, to incline the court to this or that side; or in which the crown itself hath had so many causes judged against it in several courts: at least in which former practice and usage on the behalf of the crown hath been less followed. And nothing is more known, than that from the time of the king's blessed return into England, even to the preparation of that charge against him, he had been reproached with nothing so much as his too much adhering to the law, and subjecting all persons to it: and this reproach had not been cast upon him so bitterly and so maliciously by any, and in places where they thought it might produce most prejudice to him, as by those who now contrived that charge, and who had been always great enemies to the law.

1252 All this, and much more of the same kind, he said, was manifest to all the world: and therefore he needed not more to labour in that vindication. Yet he could not but observe, that there was not in all the king's forces, nor was when his forces were much greater than they were at that present, one officer recommended by him: and most of them were such who professed publicly a great animosity against him, having been, by the malice of some men, very unreasonably persuaded that the chancellor was their enemy; that he desired that they might be disbanded, or at least so obliged to the rules of the law, that they should be every day cast into prison. And they had indeed found, that in some insolencies which the soldiers had committed contrary to the law, and some pretences which they made to privileges against arrests, and the like, he had always opposed their desires with

more warmth than other men had done; as believing it might be the cause of notable disorders, and more alienate the affection of the people from the soldiers: so that it could not be thought probable, that he should contribute his advice for the raising a standing army, and that the kingdom should be governed thereby; when there were very few men so like to be destroyed by that army as himself, who was so industriously rendered to be odious to it.

<sup>1253</sup> To the other part of that first article, “that he did advise the king to dissolve the present parliament, and to lay aside all thoughts of parliaments for the future,” &c. which it was said two privy counsellors were ready to prove; he made a relation of all that had passed in that consternation when the Dutch fleet came into the river as far as Chatham, and when the debate was in council upon the reconvening the parliament in August, when it stood prorogued till October, which the chancellor affirmed could not legally be done; all which is more at large related in this discourse of the time when those transactions passed, and so need not to be repeated in this place.

<sup>1254</sup> The second article was, “That he had, in the hearing of many of his majesty’s subjects, falsely and maliciously said, that the king was in his heart a papist, popishly affected, or words to that effect.”

<sup>1255</sup> He said, that he had occasion too often, throughout the whole charge, to acknowledge and magnify the great goodness of God Almighty, that, since he thought not fit (for his greater humiliation, and it may be to correct the pride of a good conscience) to preserve him entirely from those aspersions of infamy, and those *flagella linguæ*, those strokes of the tongue, which always leave some mark or scar in the reputation they desire to wound; he had yet infused into the hearts of his enemies, who had suggested and contrived this persecution against him, to lay such

crimes to his charge as his nature is known most to abhor, and which cannot only not be believed, but must be contradicted, and a vindication of him from that guilt must be made, by all men who know him to any degree, or who have been much in his company. And as justice would have required it, so the usual form in cases of this nature doth exact, that in so general a charge they should have named one single person of those many, in whose hearing he had laid that odious imputation upon the king: and every man will presume, that one such person would have been named, if he could have been found.

1256 There was no man then alive, he said, who had had the honour to be so many years about or near the person of the king as he had been: no man, who knew more of the temptation his majesty had undergone, and the assaults he had sustained, in the matter of religion, during the whole time of his exile; when almost a total despair possessed the spirits of most men of his own religion, that he would recover his regality; and the hopes and promises and assurances were so pregnant of very many of all conditions, that he would suddenly recover it if he would change it. No man knew so well, with what Christian courage his majesty had repelled those assaults, or with what pious contempt and indignation he resisted and rejected those temptations. Nor had any man, he thought, held so many discourses with his majesty concerning religion as he had done; and sooner and more clearly discerned the reproaches he would undergo from that innate candour in his princely nature, which disposed him to receive any addresses, or to hear any discourses, which those of several factions in religion with great presumption have used to present to him: whilst his majesty hath, with equal temper and singular benignity, heard all; and, pitying their errors, dismissed them with evidence, that their arguments were too weak to make impression upon his judgment. Which though they knew

well, yet either party, out of the vanity of their hearts, used all the endeavours they could to get it believed, that the king was propitious to them and their party. And the papists, being most presumptuous in particular, and in their dark walks in several counties making it a special argument to their proselytes, and those they endeavoured to make so, that the king favoured them, and was of their religion in his heart, (of which, and the great prejudice it brought upon his majesty, he frequently received advertisements from many persons of honour, and of warm affections to the government;) of which he had always informed the king, who was exceedingly offended at their folly and presumption, and wished “that some of them might be apprehended, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour; and that some such prosecution might be made against all the Roman catholics, and that they might be convicted;” which he always gave in charge to the judges accordingly. And upon that and the like occasions he had a just and necessary opportunity to enlarge, in the presence of many persons of honour and interest in the kingdom, upon the sincerity of the king’s religion, and his constant exercise of it when he suffered by it; giving such instances of many particulars as were pertinent to the discourse: of which endeavours of his, and of some fruit thereof, he doubted not but that many of as considerable persons as are in England would be ready to give him their testimony. And, he said, he might without vanity say, that he had more than an ordinary part in the framing and promoting that act of parliament, that hath made those seditious discourses, “of the king’s being a papist in his heart, or popishly affected,” so very penal as [they are]: and therefore there would be need of an undoubted and uncontrollable evidence, that he had so soon run into that crime himself. Which was all he would for the present say upon that second article.

1257 The third article was, "That he had received great sums of money for passing the Canary patent, and other illegal patents ; and granted several injunctions to stop proceedings at law against them, and other illegal patents formerly granted."

1258 To which he said, that he had presumed in his humble address to the house of peers to assure their lordships, "that he had never received one penny over and above the just perquisites of his office, according to the precedents and practice of the best times, which he conceived to be those of the lord Coventry and the lord Ellesmere ; and which he had made his rule in all that he had received, excepting only what he had from the immediate bounty of the king." And as he had always done all that was in his power to prevent and stop all illegal patents, so he did believe that there would be more patents then found in the office, which had been stopped by him, than by any of his predecessors in so short a time. He never granted any injunctions in the cases mentioned in the charge, nor in any case, where, by the course of the court and the rules of justice, it was not warranted. And for the Canary patent, and the original, and all the proceedings thereupon, so much is said in the body of this discourse, according to the time it was transacted in, that there needs no repetition of it in this place.

1259 The fourth article was, "That he had advised and procured divers of his majesty's subjects to be imprisoned against law in remote islands, garrisons, and other places ; thereby to prevent them from the benefit of the law, and to introduce precedents for imprisoning of other of his majesty's subjects in like manner."

1260 To which he said, he knew not what answer to make to that article, it being so general, and no particular person being named : but, he said, it was generally known, that he had never taken it upon him to commit any man



to prison, but such who, by the course of the chancery, for matters of contempt are justly and necessarily to be committed. It was probable that he had been present at the council-board when many persons had been ordered to be committed, and whose commitment hath by the wisdom of that board been thought just and necessary; and therefore he was not to answer apart for any thing done by them. Only he might say, that he was frequently of opinion that the commitments were very necessary: and it was notoriously known, that by such commitments some rebellions or insurrections have been prevented; and that other persons, who were afterwards attainted and executed for high treason, had upon their examinations and at their death confessed, that their purpose had been to rise in arms at such and such times, if their friends upon whom they had principally relied had not been then committed to prison. And, he said, he did well remember, that it was thought fit that most of the persons who stand attainted for the murder of the late king, his majesty's royal father, should be removed out of the Tower, and dispersed into several islands and garrisons: and if any other persons had been likewise sent thither, he presumed it was upon such reasons, as upon a due examination thereof would make it appear to be very just.

1261 The fifth article was, "That he had corruptly sold several offices contrary to law."

1262 This he positively denied.

1263 The sixth was, "That he had procured his majesty's customs to be farmed at underrates, knowing the same; and great pretended debts to be paid by his majesty, to the payment whereof his majesty was not in strictness bound; and that he had received great sums of money for procuring the same."

1264 To this he said, he had never had any thing to do in the disposing his majesty's customs or any other part of his revenue, except for some short time after his ma-

jesty's first arrival in England; when he, amongst others of the lords of the council, was a commissioner for the treasury: during which time there was no farm let of any of the revenue, and the customs were put into the hand of commissioners, to the end that a computation might be made as near as was possible of the full value of them, before that it should be put into a farm, which every man conceived would be fit to be done as soon as might be. The white staff was shortly after given to the earl of Southampton, (to whom his majesty had designed it before he returned,) and the chancellorship of the exchequer to the lord Ashley, the lord chancellor having resigned it into his majesty's hands, which he had been possessed of for many years in the time of the late king, and retained it till after his majesty's return: and from the time that those two officers of the revenue were made, which determined the former commission, he never intermeddled in the customs, or in any other branch of the revenue; except when the king commanded him to be present in some consultations which he had with the lord treasurer, and when there were other lords of the council present. That excellent person, the lord treasurer, always resorted to the king for his direction, in all matters of the least difficulty which occurred to him in the administration of his office; and frequently did desire to confer with the chancellor (with whom he was known to have held a long and a fast friendship) upon many particulars of his office, believing that he was not altogether ignorant in that administration, with which he had been formerly so well acquainted. And that he conceived might be the reason, why he did oftentimes procure him to be joined with him in references from the king, upon matters wholly relating to his own office. But the chancellor did never then suffer any particular application to be made to him in those cases, nor had ever secret conferences with any persons who were concerned in those pretensions:

1265 What was meant “by his having procured his majesty’s customs to be farmed at underrates, knowing the same; and great pretended debts to be paid by his majesty, to the payment whereof his majesty was not in strictness bound;” he said, he could not imagine, except it did relate to the payment of a debt due from his late majesty to some of the farmers. In which though he had no more to do, than in giving information and his particular advice to his majesty, in the presence of the lord treasurer, the chancellor of the exchequer, and other of the lords, and so was not himself responsible for what his majesty did thereupon; yet he thought himself obliged upon this particular, which so much concerned the honour and justice of the late king and of his present majesty, to enlarge, and relate all he knew of what their majesties did, and what induced his present majesty to do his part in it.

1266 He said, it was notoriously known, that before the late troubles, and in the very first entrance into them, his majesty was necessitated to borrow very great sums of money from his then farmers of his customs, and to oblige them to stand personally bound for many other great sums of money, which other men lent to his majesty upon their security. That thereupon, and for the repayment of those sums which the farmers had advanced, and for securing them from any damage for those monies which others had lent upon their obligations, his late majesty, with the advice of the then lord treasurer and the chancellor of the exchequer, had granted a further lease of his customs to those farmers for three or four years to come, after the expiration of their former lease; with a covenant on his majesty’s part, to pay the just interest for all such monies as were advanced by them, or for which they stood bound; and likewise that they should, out of their growing rent, deduct such sums of money by the year, as they had lent or been bound for, according to such proportions yearly as

was agreed upon. That it was as well known, that shortly after the beginning of the parliament in 1640, and before the commencement of the second lease, the house of commons did not only force the said farmers to pay a very great sum of money for their presumption in receiving customs and impositions upon merchandise in the former years, when they pretended such payments were not due; but took also from them their new lease granted to them by the king, and so left them without any capacity of reimbursing themselves of the money they had lent, and likewise at the mercy of their creditors to whom they stood bound; many of whom quickly began to exercise that severity towards them, that many of the poor gentlemen had their estates extended upon judgments and recognizances, and their persons taken in execution and committed to prison; where some of them who had been known to have great estates, as sir Paul Pindar and others, were forced to end their lives.

1267 There were very few circumstances in the late king's misfortunes, which gave him more trouble, or so much afflicted him, as the sense he had of the horrid and unjust sufferings those poor gentlemen underwent for him, and their affection for his service; which he often publicly mentioned, and as often declared, "that he held himself obliged to make them full reparation as soon as God should enable him." And he frequently spake to the chancellor, who was then chancellor of the exchequer, of that affair; of the good opinion he had of the men, and of the great services they had done for his majesty; and commanded him expressly, when it should fall within his power, he should do them all the right he could. And of this he had often informed his majesty during the time he was abroad, and after his return, without any other motive than his father's command and his own honour, having himself never had any degree of friendship with any of the persons concerned, and a very ordinary ac-

quaintance with some of them. Upon his majesty's happy return, those gentlemen who were alive of the old farmers, who were sir John Jacob, sir Job Harby, sir Nicholas Crispe, and sir John Harrison, applied themselves to the king, having lain several years and at that time remaining in execution in several prisons, and having had their estates sold, upon the prosecution of those creditors to whom they were bound for money lent to his majesty.

1268 As soon as measures were taken for collecting the revenue, those four gentlemen named before, and two others who had served his majesty very well, were appointed his commissioners for the collecting the customs and duties upon trade; in which collection they continued a year or thereabouts; during which time many of their creditors, who had generously forbore to prosecute them whilst they were in prison and undone, begun now to commence their actions against them, presuming they were then or would shortly be able to satisfy them. Whereupon the king commanded the lord treasurer and the chancellor, with some other lords, to send for those creditors, and to declare to them, "that his majesty would in a short time enable his farmers to pay their just debts, which he well knew were contracted for his service; and that he would take it very well from them, if they would for the present give no obstruction to his service, by the prosecution of those persons at law, whose time was solely taken up in the necessary service of his majesty." Whereupon they willingly desisted from that prosecution; and many of them finding now, that by his majesty's favour they were like to recover their debts they before thought to be desperate, they frankly remitted the whole or part of the interest, that in strictness of law was still due to them.

1269 His majesty shortly after, finding it best for his profit to determine the collection by commission, and to let the whole to farm, gave direction to the lord treasurer to

confer and treat with any fit persons who desired to contract for the same. Many overtures were made by several persons, and some applied themselves directly to his majesty. Upon which, and after a competent time in considering all that had been proposed, the king appointed a day, when he would be attended by the lord treasurer and other of the lords, and when all the pretenders should likewise be present, and he would then and there declare his own judgment; having first declared to the commissioners, whereof four were the old farmers to whom so much money was due, "that whosoever should take the farm, they should be obliged to pay them their just debt at such times, and by such proportions, as their service could bear. But as to the letting the farm itself, he would neither consider the debt he owed them, nor the sufferings they had undergone, but only the rent they should offer; which if as much as any body else would give, he would prefer their persons before others; but if any other fit men would offer more than they thought fit to give, they should be his farmers: and therefore wished them well to consider what they would propose to him."

1270 After two days spent by his majesty with the several pretenders apart, and finding that the propositions made to him by the old farmers, with whom the other two were to be joined who had served with them as commissioners, were at least as much if not more for his profit than any that had been made by any of the rest; he did declare, that the farm should be let to those who had been his commissioners: which at that time was understood to be so far from being a good bargain, that the two commissioners, who were not concerned in the great debt, utterly refused to meddle with the farm at so great a rent; the other four publicly declaring at the same time, "that they would not give the rent but in contemplation of their debt, which they thought they should sooner and better

receive, when it should be assigned upon their own collections, than when it should be charged upon new farmers." But they were suitors to his majesty, "that he would oblige the other two (sir John Wolstenholme and sir John Shaw) to be joint farmers with them;" which his majesty did, by making a gracious promise to them, "that if they should be losers, he would repair them:" and thereupon directions were given to Mr. Attorney General to prepare a grant accordingly. And, he said, he did not know that there was one dissenting voice from what his majesty inclined to do upon the whole matter, the same appearing to every man to be most just and reasonable.

<sup>1271</sup> The farm being thus settled, the old farmers were directed "to bring their accounts to the lord treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer, by which it should manifestly appear how much the king was justly and truly indebted to them, and how the debts were incurred; that so upon a just computation such satisfaction might be made to them, as was consistent with the present state of his majesty's affairs and occasions." Many months, if not a whole year, were spent in the examination of those accounts before the auditors: who, besides the exceptions they took for want of some formalities in the proof of some money paid, which after twenty years of license (in which all their books and papers had been taken, their houses plundered, and their persons imprisoned; and in which so many persons employed by the king to receive and by them to pay money were dead) could hardly be made with the usual exactness; made likewise several certificates of particular cases, which required further directions. And the lord treasurer would never take upon himself to give those directions, only declaring to them, as he had frequently done, "that in regard his majesty was not strictly bound in justice to pay that debt due from his father, but that his present majesty's generous and royal disposition had prevailed with him to pay that

just debt, whereby they might be preserved from ruin, in which," he said, "he had fully concurred with his majesty; but that he would never advise him, on the contrary he would always dissuade his majesty from paying or allowing any interest, though paid by them, which would swell the debt to such a proportion, that his majesty could never undertake the payment of it." Which determination, how great soever their loss appeared to be, seemed to be so just, at least so necessary for the king, that they wholly referred it to his majesty; hoping that it might prevail with many of their creditors not to exact it from them, though the sale of their whole estates had made satisfaction to others for the whole interest, as well as for the principal.

1272 When the auditors' certificate was ready, and all the doubts and questions that did arise thereupon were clearly stated, his majesty vouchsafed again to be present with the other lords, who had from the beginning assisted in the examination of that business: and then the lord treasurer declared to his majesty, what he had before said to the persons concerned, "[that] though he willingly approved his majesty's goodness in taking upon himself that great debt, yet that he would by no means give his advice or consent that he should pay or allow any interest for it."

1273 Upon the whole matter, and upon all the doubts stated to his majesty, and after the rejection of several of the sums of money which were demanded by them, and for the payment whereof such direct proof is not made as is required by the course of the exchequer, (though, he said, he thought most persons who were present were in their private consciences well satisfied, that those sums had been in truth paid to his majesty's use, as had been alleged;) there appeared to his majesty to be justly due to them the sum of two hundred thousand pounds, principal-money, for almost twenty years, and for which they



had paid the interest for many years out of their own estates. And his majesty thought it very just ; and, with many gracious expressions of his purpose and resolution further to repair them as he should be able, gave order to the lord treasurer, “ that the said debt of two hundred thousand pounds should be paid to them in five years, that is, by forty thousand pounds for every year, out of the rent of the farm ; and that all instruments necessary for their satisfaction and security should be presently given to them, whereby they might be able to comply with their creditors, and avoid their importunity,” where-with his majesty begun to be troubled as much as themselves.

1274 He did confess himself to have been present at those agitations, and to have contributed his humble advice and opinion to his majesty that he should pay this debt ; which he thought himself obliged to do, as well as a faithful counsellor to his present majesty, as in discharge of his duty and obligation to his father. And, he said, he had very good reason to believe, that if that two hundred thousand pounds be paid according to his majesty’s direction, and of which the heirs and executors of those farmers who are dead, as well as the four present farmers, have their equal proportions ; the said persons have not at this day half the estates they had in the year 1640, when they entered into those engagements for his majesty. Nor was there any one person present at the agitation of this affair, who seemed in the least degree to differ in the opinion, or to dissuade his majesty from giving that satisfaction for that debt.

1275 He said, he did likewise very willingly confess, that he had in the manner aforesaid, and being called to advise, given his opinion for the payment of many other considerable debts incurred by his late majesty, and for which many persons of honour, who adhered to him during that war, were personally bound for him, and whose estates

had been extended and their persons imprisoned for the same ; many of whom were in execution and in prison for the same when his majesty returned, and others were then sued in Westminster-hall, in his majesty's own courts. His late majesty having granted under his great seal of England, to several persons intrusted for the rest, many of his forests, parks, and other lands, for their security and indemnity who were or should stand bound for him, for money that was then borrowed for and applied to the necessary support of himself and his army, and to no other purpose ; in that grant he had been particularly trusted, as well by the desire of the persons particularly concerned, as by his majesty's command to be solicitous for their satisfaction. And he did not deny, that he was [never more] glad, than when he was able to procure satisfaction for those persons who were so bound and so secured ; nor more troubled, than that he could do no more, than that there remained still so many unsatisfied, and almost undone, for those debts so contracted ; of which number he believed there were still too many.

1276 But having made those clear confessions of what was truth, and what he did do in those transactions, he said, he must as positively deny, that ever he procured or advised the letting his majesty's customs, or any other part of his revenue, at underrates : on the contrary, that he used all the ways he could to advance the rents, without respect of persons ; and that he was never present at the letting any farm that any men would have given more for, than they did to whom it was let, what offers soever were made afterwards, when his majesty himself had made a contract, and when a grant was issued accordingly under the great seal of England. And he did as positively deny, that ever he received or expected the least sum of money, or money-worth, for any lease made by his majesty of his customs, or any other part of his revenue ; or

for the payment of any one debt made by his majesty, to which he was or was not bound : he having, he said, never had any other motive for the performance of those offices, but the pure and entire consideration of his majesty's honour, justice, and profit, and his own inclination to gratify worthy persons, who in justice ought to be or might with justice be gratified and obliged, and who had commonly been such persons to whom he had had no kind of obligation.

1277 The seventh article was, "That he had received great sums of money from the company of vintners, or some of them or their agents, for enhancing the prices of wines, and for freeing them from the payment of legal penalties which they had incurred."

1278 He said, if he had been in the least degree guilty of that charge, it would very easily have been proved ; and the vintners would very gladly have helped them in it, being persons who never thought themselves beholden to him, and so not obliged to conceal any of his corruptions. They well knew, that he could never be prevailed with to consent to the enhancing the prices of their wines, and that he never had received from them the least sum of money, or other gratuity from them, in his life. He said, he did remember, that at a time when his majesty had refused to grant all their other petitions, the company of vintners did complain, "that there were so many informations against them prosecuted by informers in the exchequer, that they must give over their trades, and be likewise undone, if they should be severely pursued for what was past : " and therefore they besought his majesty in council, "that he would pardon what was past ; and that for the future they would trespass no more." Whereupon his majesty thought it worthy of his mercy to shelter them for the present from that prosecution ; and thereupon commanded his attorney general "to call the informers before him, and to appoint the vintners to pay

them such reasonable rewards for their pains as he thought fit; and thereupon he should enter a *noli prosequi*:" but his majesty charged them "for the future not to run into the same danger." And as this grace from his majesty was not upon his promotion, but purely from his own bounty and goodness, from which nobody dissuaded him; so he never received the least profit from the same.

1279 The eighth is, "That he had in a short time gained to himself a far greater estate than can be imagined to be lawfully gained in so short a time; and contrary to his oath he had procured several grants under the great seal from his majesty, to himself and to his relations, of several of his majesty's lands, hereditaments, and leases, to the disprofit of his majesty."

1280 To this he said, that he wished with all his heart that the truth of that article (which he presumed had drawn on all the rest) were clearly known to all the world: and that they, who in truth do believe that he hath so great an estate, were well informed what it is; and they would then clearly discern that he needed not be ashamed of having gotten such an estate, nor that he needed to have any recourse to any ill arts or means for the obtaining thereof. They would know, that he had been so far from "procuring several grants under the great seal of England from his majesty, to himself and his relations, of several of his majesty's lands, hereditaments, and leases, to the disprofit of his majesty;" that he never moved his majesty in his life for any one grant to himself or any of his relations. If his majesty's royal bounty had disposed him to confer somewhat of benefit and advantage upon an old servant, who had waited upon his father and himself near thirty years in some trust and employment; he said, he hoped it should not be imputed as a crime in him to receive his favours. He was far from believing or imagining, that the poor services he had ever done, or

could do, were in any degree proportionable to his majesty's bounty: yet since his majesty's goodness had thought him fit for it, he hoped many others would think so too; at least as fit as some men, who had received greater marks and proportions of it than he had done, and who, though they might serve much better, had not served so long.

1281 He said, he forbore to enlarge upon that charge, because he conceived that it was now evident to many, who had been wrought upon by those who did not believe it themselves, to think his estate to be very great, that the information they received was without ground: and whoever considers, that the first year after the king's return yielded justly more profit to the great seal than he ever received in all the years following, and some particular acts of bounty conferred on him by his majesty, without the least suit from him, and unthought of by him, will believe that his fault was greater in having no better an estate, than that what he hath hath been gotten by corruption. He said, he hath none of his majesty's lands, but what he had bought, for as much as any body would pay for it, of those who had the same granted to them by his majesty's bounty, and that grant confirmed to them by act of parliament. And he presumed that it could not have fallen from his majesty's memory, and was sure was well known to some persons of honour yet alive, that when his majesty was graciously pleased, upon his first coming over, to offer him some land that had never yielded any thing to the crown, he absolutely refused to receive it, because it was generally thought to be of great value; and therefore he would not expose himself to the envy which naturally attends those donations, having in truth never had an immoderate appetite to make haste to be rich; and had as much apprehended the being accused of witchcraft or burglary, as of bribery and corruption.

1282 In a word; he did declare, that, his debts being dis-

charged, for which he paid interest, all his estate was not worth, being sold, the money that he had received from his majesty's own royal bounty, and far from being suitable to the quality he yet held, and which was never obtained by his own ambition, as many persons of honour could testify.

1283 The ninth article was, "That he had introduced an arbitrary government in his majesty's foreign plantations; and had caused such as complained thereof before his majesty and his council, to be long imprisoned for so doing."

1284 To this he said, that though he could not possibly comprehend the full meaning of that article, yet because he had heard of many discourses made of the authority that he assumed to himself over the plantations, and the great advantage and benefit that he had drawn to himself from thence, he was very willing to take that occasion to relate all that he knew, and all that he had done, with reference to any of his majesty's plantations; declaring in the first place, that at his majesty's return, and before, he had used all the endeavours he could to prepare and dispose the king to a great esteem of his plantations, and to encourage the improvement of them by all the ways that could reasonably be proposed to him. And he had been confirmed in that opinion and desire, as soon as he had a view of the entries in the custom-house; by which he found what a great revenue accrued to the king from those plantations, insomuch as the receipts from thence had upon the matter repaired the decrease and diminution of the customs, which the late troubles had brought upon other parts of trade, from what it had formerly yielded.

1285 The first consideration that offered itself before the king that related to the plantations, was concerning the Barbadoes; which having been most discoursed of since, and, as he had heard, with some reflections upon him of

partiality and injustice, he said, he would in the first place set down all he knew in that affair, and how he came to meddle in it.

1286 Before the beginning of the late troubles, the king had granted the island of the Barbadoes to the earl of Carlisle and his heirs for ever, upon a supposition that it had been first discovered, possessed, and planted at his charge: and the said earl sent a governor and people thither, and enjoyed it to his death; and by his will settled it for the payment of his debts, which were very great. The troubles falling out in a short time after, little or no profit had been drawn from thence towards the satisfaction of those debts; and the executors and trustees totally neglected the taking care of it, or prosecuting the plantation. But in and after the war many citizens, merchants, and gentlemen, who were willing or forced to withdraw themselves from England, transported themselves thither, and planted without asking any body's leave, and without being opposed or contradicted by any body.

1287 About the year 1647, or thereabouts, the late earl of Carlisle, son and heir of the former earl, to whom the inheritance of that island belonged, treated with the late lord Willoughby of Parham, how that island might be so husbanded, that the plantation might be advanced, and profit made by it; which would at last redound to himself, when the debt should be paid. The late king was then in the hands of the army: and with his majesty's approbation and consent, it was agreed between the said earl and the said lord, "that a lease should be made by the earl of Carlisle to the lord Willoughby, of all the profits which should arise out of that plantation, for the term of twenty-one years or thereabouts; a moiety of the whole profits to be received by the lord Willoughby himself for his own use, in recompense for his pains and charge. And he was likewise to receive a commission from the said earl, to be governor of that and the rest of

the Caribbee islands," (all which were comprehended in the charter granted by the king to the earl of Carlisle;) "and that a commission should be likewise procured from the king or the prince of Wales, by which the lord Willoughby was to be constituted governor of the said islands."

1288 About that time the fleet in the Downs returned to their obedience to the king, withdrawing themselves to the coast of Holland to offer their service to the prince of Wales, his majesty that now is; the lord Willoughby then likewise coming over to him, to serve him in any condition his highness would employ him in. That summer being passed without any good success, the lord Willoughby then informed the prince of what had passed between the earl of Carlisle and him with the king his father's consent; which his highness had likewise received from his majesty himself, with much recommendation of the lord Willoughby. He said, he was then attending upon the prince in Holland, as one of the king's council assigned by his majesty for that service. Upon the understanding this whole case, the prince, upon the unanimous advice of the council, thought fit to grant such a commission of governor of the Barbadoes and the other islands, as he desired: and he had the more reason to desire it, (notwithstanding the earl of Carlisle's grant and commission,) because the principal planters upon the Barbadoes had been officers in the king's army or of manifest affections to him, and always looked upon as of his party.

1289 With this commission the lord Willoughby had, at his great charge and expense, transported himself to the Barbadoes, and was there received as governor; and made a contract with the planters, "that so much should be paid upon the hundred to the earl of Carlisle," to whom the propriety of the whole belonged. But before this agreement could be well executed, or any profit



drawn from thence, the island was reduced to the obedience of the parliament and of Cromwell, and a governor appointed by them; the lord Willoughby being sent into England, where he remained till the king's return, and had given unquestionable evidence of his affection to the king's service, for which he had often been committed to prison before and after Cromwell's death.

1290 As soon as the king returned, the lord Willoughby (who had then eight or nine years to come of his lease formerly granted to him by the earl of Carlisle, who was then likewise living, and ready to do any other act to the lord Willoughby's advantage) resolved to return himself to the Barbadoes, and desired the king to renew his commission to him for the government; which his majesty was very willing to do, as to a person he esteemed very much, and who had spent very much of his own fortune, as was notoriously known, in that service. But the Barbadoes and all those other islands were now become of another consideration and value, than they had been of before the troubles: the Barbadoes itself was (by that confluence and resort thither as was mentioned before) so fully planted, that there was no room for new comers, and they had sent very many of their people to the other islands to plant; many citizens of London had raised very great estates there, and every year received a very great revenue from thence; [and] the king's customs from that one island came to a very great sum of money yearly.

1291 All these men, [who] had entered upon that plantation as a waste place, and had with great charge brought it to that perfection, and with great trouble, begun now to apprehend, that they must depend upon the good-will of the earl of Carlisle and lord Willoughby for the enjoyment of their estates there, which they had hitherto looked upon as their own. All these men joined together in an appeal to the king, and humbly prayed "his protection, and that they might not be oppressed by those two

lords." They pleaded, "that they were the king's subjects; that they had repaired thither as to a desolate place, and had by their industry obtained a livelihood there, when they could not with a good conscience stay in England. That if they should be now left to those lords to ransom themselves and compound for their estates, they must leave the country; and the plantation would be destroyed, which yielded his majesty so good a revenue. That they could defend themselves by law against the earl of Carlisle's title, if his majesty did not countenance it by a new grant of the government to the lord Willoughby: and therefore they were suitors to his majesty, that he would [not] destroy them by that countenance."

1292 At the same time, the creditors of the late earl of Carlisle (whose debts were to be satisfied by the profits of that plantation, by the will and settlement of the said earl) petitioned the king, "that they might be in the first place provided for: their principal-money due to them at the death of the earl amounted to no less than fifty thousand pounds, of which they had never yet received one penny; and therefore that the profits which should arise ought in the first place to be applied to them, there having been many families utterly ruined for want of their monies so due to them." The king appointed to hear all their several pretences at the council-board, where they all attended with their council: and after his majesty had spent three or four days himself in hearing the several allegations, finding new pretences and difficulties every day to arise, (which shall be mentioned anon,) the king appointed several of the lords of the council "to consider of the whole matter, and to confer with the several parties, and, if it were possible, to make an end between them by their own consent; otherwise to report the several titles to his majesty, with such expedients as in their judgments they thought most like to produce a

general satisfaction, without endangering the plantation," the preservation whereof his majesty took to heart. The chancellor was one of that committee, and took very much pains in reading the charters, grants, and leases, and many other papers and despatches which concerned that affair; and conferred with several of the persons interested; to the end that he might the better discern what could be done, having never understood or heard any thing of the matter, or that concerned that plantation, otherwise than what he hath before set down upon the despatch of the lord Willoughby [to] Holland; nor had he the [least] inclination or bias to any party. Upon the hearing all the allegations before the lords, the several pretences and titles appeared to them to be these; which they afterwards reported to the king.

1293 The lord Willoughby demanded nothing from the king, but his commission to be governor for the remainder of the years which had been granted to him by the earl of Carlisle; to the end that he might receive one moiety of those profits which should arise to the earl, and which had been assigned to him with the consent and approbation of the late king, and of his majesty that now is; upon which he had undertaken that voyage, and spent so much of his estate.

1294 The earl of Carlisle, whilst this contention was depending, died, and by his will devised his interest in the Barbadoes to the earl of Kinnoul, who likewise petitioned the king for the preservation of his right: but neither he nor the person under whom he claimed had any pretence till all the debts should be satisfied; nor did the earl of Kinnoul demand any thing till then, but believed the profit would arise yearly to so much, that the debts would quickly be satisfied, and then the whole was to come to him.

1295 There was another title that preceded the earl of Carlisle's, which was that of the earl of Marlborough,

who alleged, and proved it to be true, “that the Barbadoes and those adjacent islands were first granted by the king to his grandfather the earl of Marlborough, who was then lord high treasurer of England, before the earl of Carlisle had any pretence thereunto; and that the lord treasurer had afterwards consented that the same should be granted to the earl of Carlisle, upon a full contract, that he should first receive for ever the sum of three hundred pounds by the year out of the first profits of the plantations; which sum of three hundred pounds had never been yet paid: and therefore the earl of Marlborough desired, as heir to his grandfather, to have satisfaction for the arrears, and that the growing rent might be secured to him.”

1296 The creditors were of two kinds: the first, and who had first petitioned the king, as was said before, had an assignment made to them by the executors and trustees of the earl of Carlisle upon his will, and who at his death owed them the full sum of fifty thousand pounds or thereabouts. The other creditors consisted of several tradesmen and artificers, to whom the said earl was indebted for wares and goods which they had delivered for his use; and of several servants for their arrears of wages: and all those had, during the late troubles, exhibited their bill in chancery against the executors and overseers of the late earl, and had obtained a decree in that court for their satisfaction out of the profits of those plantations, (which decree stood confirmed by the late act of judicial proceedings;) and, as he remembered, their debts amounted to thirty thousand pounds or thereabout. None of the creditors in general, of one or the other sort, had ever received one shilling from the time that the earl had first assigned it.

1297 The planters insisted positively, “that the charter granted to the earl of Carlisle by the king was void in point of law:” for which their counsel alleged many

reasons. And having spent much time upon that argumentation, they concluded with two humble propositions to the king: 1. "That his majesty would give them leave to prosecute in his name in the exchequer, and at their own charge, to repeal that grant to the earl of Carlisle; by which they should be freed from the arbitrary power and oppression which would be exercised upon them under the colour of that charter, and his majesty might receive a great benefit to himself, by taking the sovereignty into his own hands, to which it belonged. And in that case they offered in their own names, and for the rest of the planters who were in the island, to consent to an imposition of so much in the hundred, which they confidently averred would amount in the year to ten thousand pounds at the least; out of which his majesty's governor might be well supported, and his majesty dispose of the overplus as he should think fit." 2. "If his majesty would not suffer the charter to be repealed, that he would leave those who claimed under the earl of Carlisle's patent to their remedy at law, and leave the planters to their own defence; which they hoped in justice could not be denied to them, since they alone had been at the charge to settle the plantation, which brought every year so great a revenue to the crown, when the earl had not been at the least expense thereupon: and if his majesty should [not] assist their pretences with his royal authority, they must all quit the plantation."

1298 These being the several pretences of the several persons, and nothing being to be done by agreement between themselves, their interests being so distinct and inconsistent with each other; his majesty thought fit, in the first place, to refer the consideration of the validity and legality of the patent to his council at law; who, upon full deliberation and after the hearing of all parties, returned their opinion, "that their patent was void, and that his majesty might take the same into his own power." This

report was no sooner made to his majesty, but that he very graciously declared, "that he would not receive from hence any benefit or advantage to himself, until all their pretences had received satisfaction; and that he would make no further use of avoiding the said charter, than to dispose the profits of the plantation to those who in justice had any pretence in law or equity to receive the same: and therefore that the lord Willoughby should proceed in his voyage to the Barbadoes, and should receive according to his bargain a moiety of the profits; and that the other part should be disposed of for the satisfaction of the debts and other incumbrances." In order to which, his majesty appointed the same committee of the lords to meet again, and to adjust the several proportions.

<sup>1299</sup> When they met again, they had all the persons concerned with them, or ready to be called in upon any occasion; and they all appeared very glad that the king had taken the care and protection of the plantation upon himself, which was all the security the planters had or could desire. And the lords' first care was, to make some computation that might be depended upon, as the yearly revenue that would arise upon the imposition within the island. But the planters would not be drawn to any particular agreement in that point, not so much as to consent to what should be imposed upon every hundred; but on the contrary declared, "that too much had been undertaken in that kind by one of their own number, Mr. Kendall, in his discourse before the king in the council," and declared, "that the plantation could not bear the imposition he had mentioned. That whatsoever was to be done of that nature was to be transacted by an assembly in the island: and that all that they could promise for themselves was, that they would use their utmost endeavours with their friends in the island, that when the lord Willoughby should arrive there and call an assembly,

they should consent to as great an imposition as the plantation would bear: by which," they said, "a good revenue would arise to the king for the purposes aforesaid."

1300 The creditors had great reason to be glad of the resolution his majesty had taken: for though it would be a long time before they could be fully satisfied out of a moiety of the profits, though it should arise to the highest computation, yet in time they should receive all, and should every year receive some; which would lessen their debt, and relieve those who were in the highest necessities, of which there was a great number. Whereas they had hitherto in so many years received not one penny: and it was evident, that without his majesty's authority they never should, since the planters were resolved never to consent to any imposition, nor submit to any authority that should be exercised under the earl of Carlisle's patent, without a due course of law; the way to obtain which would be very difficult to find out. And they understood well enough, that, without his majesty's grace and bounty to them, the repeal or avoiding the earl of Carlisle's patent would put a quick end to all their pretences.

1301 The greatest difficulty that did arise was from the earl of Kinnoul, to whom the last earl of Carlisle had devised these islands by his will: and he had a great mind to go thither himself, and take possession of his right; and his council had persuaded him, "that the king's charter granted to the first earl of Carlisle was good and valid in law, and that they believed they could defend and maintain it in any court of justice." Then his own estate in Scotland was so totally lost by the iniquity of the time, and his father's having so frankly declared himself for the king, when very few of that nation lost any thing for their loyalty, that he had very little left to support himself; and therefore was willing to retire into any place abroad, where he might find but a bare subsistence. But when

he considered again, that he could have no pretence to any thing till after the creditors were fully satisfied, and how long it was like to be before they could be satisfied, there remaining still due to the creditors of both kinds no less than fourscore thousand pounds, principal-money; he did not believe that his insisting upon the patent would be worth the charge and hazard he must inevitably be put to: and therefore, upon further deliberation with his friends, he willingly referred himself and all his interest to the king's gracious determination, as all the rest of the pretenders and interested persons had done.

1302 The case being thus fully stated to the lords, and every man's interest and pretence clearly appearing before them, they considered seriously amongst themselves what they might reasonably propose to the several persons, in order to their agreement amongst themselves; or, that proving ineffectual, what advice they might reasonably give his majesty. They were unanimously of opinion, "not to advise his majesty to cause the patent to be called in question: for though they doubted not, upon the opinion of his learned council, that the same would be judged void and illegal; yet they did not think it a seasonable time, when the nation was so active and industrious in foreign plantations, that they should see a charter or patent questioned and avoided, after it hath been so many years allowed and countenanced, and under which it [hath] so long flourished, and was almost grown to perfection. And that since his majesty had declared, that, notwithstanding any right of his own, all possible care should be taken for the satisfaction of the creditors, as well as for the preservation and support of the plantation; it would be equally equitable and honourable in his majesty, not to leave the earl of Kinnoul the only person unconsidered, and bereaved of all his pretence. But that they would humbly move his majesty, that he would graciously vouchsafe to assign some present maintenance to the said earl, which



his unhappy condition required, out of the revenue that should be there settled, and until the debts should be paid; and that after that time such an augmentation might be made to him, as his majesty in his royal bounty should think fit: in consideration whereof, the earl should procure the patent to be brought in and surrendered;" which he promised should be done accordingly, as soon as the settlement should be made of that proportion which should be assigned to him.

1303 "That the lord Willoughby should enjoy the benefit of his former contract with the earl of Carlisle, and approved by his majesty, during the remainder of those years which are not yet expired; that he should make what haste he could thither, and call an assembly, to the end that such an imposition might be agreed upon to be paid to his majesty as should be reasonable, in consideration of the great benefit they had already and should still enjoy, in being continued and secured in their several plantations, in which as yet they were as it were but tenants at will, having no other pretence of right but the possession: and therefore, that those merchants and planters who had petitioned the king should, according to their obligation and promise made by them to his majesty, use all their credit with those in the island, that the imposition might arise to such a proportion, that the revenue might answer the ends proposed; and that one moiety of that revenue should be enjoyed by the lord Willoughby for his term.

1304 "That the annuity of three hundred pounds by the year should be paid to the earl of Marlborough, according to the original contract mentioned before; and that the assignment, that his majesty would likewise be pleased to make to the earl of Kinnoul, should be first paid: and then that the remainder of that moiety should be received to the use of the creditors. And that when the lord Willoughby's term should be expired, his majesty should be desired, after the reservation of so much as he should

think fit for the support of his governor, that all the remainder might be continued towards the creditors, until their just debts should be paid.”

1305 These particulars appearing reasonable to the lords, all persons concerned were called, and the same communicated to them, who appeared all well contented: and thereupon the lords resolved to present the same to his majesty, which they did accordingly at the board; and his majesty with a full approbation and advice of the whole council ratified the same. Whereupon that order was made by the king in council, which comprehends all the particulars mentioned before; which was delivered to the lord Willoughby, with his majesty's express command, “that he should see it punctually and precisely executed;” and the like order was delivered by the clerk of the council to every other person mentioned, who desired the same: to which order he did for the more certainty refer himself, being in no degree confident (having then no other help than his memory) that all was set down with that exactness as it ought to be. And, he said, as he had throughout the whole affair taken very great pains to reduce it to that agreement, which at that time seemed to be satisfactory to all the persons concerned, so he had not the least temptation of particular benefit to himself; and he did still believe it to be very just, reasonable, and agreeable to his majesty's justice and goodness, all circumstances being considered. And though it may be, in strictness of law, and by the avoiding the grant made to the earl of Carlisle, his majesty might have possessed himself of the whole island, without any tender consideration of the planters or the creditors; he said, he was not ashamed that he had never given his majesty that or the like counsel, in that or any other matter of the like nature; and if he had, he was confident his majesty would have abhorred it, and not have thought the better of him for giving it.

1306 The other part of that article, "That he had caused such as complained of the arbitrary government in the plantations before the king and council, to be long imprisoned for so doing," did refer, he supposed to the commitment of one Farmer; who, being sent over a prisoner by the lord Willoughby in a ship that came from thence, made his appearance at Oxford, his majesty being then there in the sickness time, which, he said, was the first moment that he had ever heard of the man or the matter. And at the same time one of the secretaries of state received a letter from the lord Willoughby, which was sent by the same ship, in which his lordship had sent a direct, full charge of mutiny, sedition, and treason against the said Farmer; and by his letter informed the secretary of all his behaviour and carriage, with all the circumstances thereof; and "that he had, by his seditious practices, prevailed so far upon a disaffected party in that island, that the lord Willoughby found himself obliged in the instant to send him on board the ship, without which he did apprehend a general revolt in the island from his majesty's obedience:" and he did therefore desire "that Farmer might not be suffered to return thither before the island should be reduced to a better temper." The man was called in before the king and council, and the charge that the lord Willoughby had sent read to him, the greatest part whereof he could not deny; and in his discourse upon it he behaved himself so peremptorily and insolently before the king, that his majesty thought it very necessary to commit him; nor did any one counsellor then present appear to think otherwise.

1307 And he did confess, that the discharging him from his imprisonment was some time afterwards moved, and that he was always against his discharge; being of opinion that it would be impossible for the lord Willoughby, or any other governor in any of the plantations, to preserve his majesty's right and to support the government, if he

should be so far discountenanced, that a man, being sent over by him as a prisoner under so particular and heinous a charge, should be upon his appearance here set at liberty. But his opinion was, "that he should be sent back a prisoner thither, that he might be tried by the law and justice of the island, and receive condign punishment for his offence:" and, he said, he could not deny but that he was still of the same opinion; and, if it were an error, it proceeded from the weakness of his understanding, which was not in his power to reform.

1308 He said, what he had here set down was all that occurred to his memory with reference to the island of the Barbadoes, which being not particularly mentioned in the article, but comprehended under the general expression of his majesty's foreign plantations, and secretly and maliciously insinuated in private discourses, he took himself to be obliged to give some answer to what, how generally soever, had been charged. And he hoped it would not be imputed as a crime to him, if he had taken more pains than other men in that important service of his majesty concerning his foreign plantations, which he did not think had been enough taken to heart: and if his desire and readiness to take any pains, or give any assistance to the advancement of that service, had induced many persons to apply themselves to him on those occasions, he hoped it should not be charged upon him as over-activity, or ambition to engross more business into his hands than he was entitled to; for which he had this excuse to make for himself, that he found the pains he took to be acceptable to his majesty. And he was so far from having any particular design of advantage to himself, that he did profess and declare, that from all or any of his majesty's plantations he never had the least reward, or least present made to him; except that the now lord Wilmoughby once told him, "that his brother had sent over some pieces of the speckled wood which grows in Suri-

nam, with direction, that if he liked it, he might have what he would of it;" whereupon he had some pieces of it, which he thought might have been applied to the making of cabinets or the adorning of wainscot, (but as they were very small, so the middle of every piece was wind-shaken and rotten, that they could not be applied to any considerable use;) and except some blocks of walnut-tree which the governor of Virginia sent to him, and of which he made some table boards and frames for chairs; the workmanship whereof cost much more than the wood was worth. And these two particulars contained all the rewards and presents or profit, that ever he received from all his majesty's plantations, or any body to his use.

1309 The tenth article was, "That he did reject and frustrate a proposal and undertaking approved by his majesty, for the preservation of Nevis and St. Christopher's and reducing the French plantations to his majesty's obedience, after the commissions were drawn for that purpose; which was the occasion of such great losses and damages in those parts."

1310 To which he answered, that he never did reject or frustrate any such proposal or undertaking, never taking upon him in the least degree to make a judgment of enterprises of that nature; nor was ever any such proposition made to him. But he did very well remember, that his majesty himself did once deliver to the council a paper, which he said one of his servants (Mr. Marsh) had presented to him, containing some propositions for ships and men to be sent by his majesty for the recovery of St. Christopher's, which had been newly taken by the French. Upon the reading which paper and propositions, the same were referred to the consideration of the general, one of the secretaries of state, and to the vice-chamberlain, who were to confer with Mr. Marsh, and such others as joined with him. And they were at the same time appointed to consider of another proposition delivered in writing by

1316 To this he said, he must here again lament his own misfortunes, that he was exposed to public reproach under a general odious charge, without inserting any one particular to which he might make his defence. He had therefore no more to say, but that he was very innocent as to any crime laid to his charge in that article: and that he had been so far from “examining and drawing into question any of his majesty’s subjects concerning their lands, tenements, goods and chattels, and properties, and determining the same at the council-table, and stopping proceedings at law;” that he did not know or believe, that any one case of that nature had been ever determined there, at least when he had been present. That he had always discountenanced such addresses, and procured all petitions of that kind to be rejected as often as they have been tendered: and, he said, he took himself obliged to say, for the vindication of his majesty’s honour and justice, that there had not been so many years passed, since the erection of the council-table, with so little disturbance or disquiet to the subjects concerning their lands, tenements, goods, and properties, as [have] been since his majesty’s happy return; nor hath the ordinary course of proceedings at law been less obstructed.

1317 The fourteenth article was, “That he had caused *quo warrantos* to be issued out against most of the corporations in England, to the intent that he might receive great sums of money from them for renewing their charters; which when they complied withal, he caused the said *quo warrantos* to be discharged, and prosecution thereon to cease.”

1318 To this he answered, that he never caused any *quo warranto*\* to issue out against any one corporation in England, but by his majesty’s express command, or by order of the board; which was always upon some miscarriage or misbehaviour in the corporation: and that he did not remember that he had ever moved the king against any

particular corporation but that of Woodstock ; and which his duty to his majesty had obliged him to do, being intrusted by his majesty with the command of his house and park there, and being his majesty's steward of his majesty's honour and manor of Woodstock, upon which that borough had always depended.

1319 He said, his majesty having conferred that charge upon him, he was no sooner possessed of it by the death of the late earl of Lindsey, who enjoyed that place before, than he received a petition from several inhabitants and burgesses of the borough of Woodstock, who complained, " that the mayor and justices had lately procured their charter to be renewed, without the privity or consent of the borough ; and that under pretence of renewing it, they had procured many new clauses to be inserted, and thereby reduced much of the government, which before depended on the whole corporation, into their own hands ; and had thereby likewise procured a piece of ground, the benefit whereof did formerly belong to all the burgesses, and was usually applied to the relief of such of them who were decayed in their estates, to be now granted to the mayor and a select number of the justices, and the profits thereof to be at their disposal, to the great prejudice of the borough and the inhabitants thereof." He referred this petition to Mr. Justice Morton, who lived within four or five miles thereof, and desired him to examine the truth of those allegations, and to certify him whether the complaints were just and reasonable. Whereupon he took the pains to go to the town, and to confer with the mayor and justices, and heard the allegations of the petitioners ; and upon the whole matter certified, " that he found several important alterations in the new charter from what had been in the old, and some new concessions."

1320 And at the same time sir William Fleetwood, who was ranger of the parks, certified him, " that since the renewing their charter, the mayor and justices were not so good

neighbours to his majesty's game as they had formerly been, and had withdrawn many of those services which they had used to perform: and that when any trespasses were committed by those of the borough upon his majesty's woods or game, which happened very frequently, and complaint was thereof made to the mayor and justices, who had the sole jurisdiction within the borough; there was so slight and perfunctory examination thereof, that the prosecutors were wearied out, and no justice could be obtained."

1321 That it was his duty to inform the king of those proceedings, who was much offended thereat, and thereupon gave his direction to his attorney general to bring a *quo warranto*, and to repeal the charter which had been so unduly procured, and in which his majesty had been so grossly deceived and abused: and he did believe that there was the less vigour used in the prosecution of that *quo warranto* because the mayor and justices for some time had pretended that they would surrender the said charter, and receive a new one in such a manner as his majesty thought fit, though they afterwards changed their mind. And this was the only charter, he said, which he gave direction for the prosecution of.

1322 Nor did he ever give order, upon the receipt of any money, to discharge any *quo warranto*, or cause the prosecution thereupon to cease: nor did he ever receive the least sum of money for the granting or renewing any charter, other than the usual fees received for the same by the clerk of the hanaper, and accounted to the seal; which fee, as he did remember, did amount to thirteen shillings and fourpence, or thereabouts.

1323 The fifteenth article was, "That he procured the bills of settlement for Ireland, and received great sums of money for the same, in a most corrupt and unlawful manner."

1324 To this article there needs no other answer than what



is contained in two several places of this discourse, in which so full a relation is made of the whole settlement of Ireland, with all the circumstances that accompanied it, that it would be to no purpose to repeat it in this place. And therein it appears what money the chancellor received from Ireland, and how he came [to receive] any, and by what injustice he came to receive no more; all which was not only well known to the king himself, but to very many of those who promoted the accusation directly contrary to what they knew to be true.

1325 The sixteenth article was, “That he had deluded and betrayed his majesty and the nation in all foreign treaties and negotiations relating to the late war.”

1326 To which he said, that he did heartily wish that those particular treaties, and the particulars in those treaties, had been mentioned, wherein it was conceived that he had deluded and betrayed his majesty, that he might at large have set down whatsoever he had known or done in those treaties; and then it would easily have been made appear, how far he had been from betraying or deluding him. That it was never any ambition of his own that brought him to have a part in any treaty: he said, God knew, that he heartily wished to have meddled in nothing, but the administration of that great office the king had thought fit to have trusted him with. But his majesty had then so good an opinion of him, that he required and commanded his service in many of those treaties: and therefore it would be necessary for him, according to the method he had hitherto used, to mention every particular treaty that had been entered into since the time of his majesty's return into England, and the part that he had in it; being as willing to be called to the strictest account for any other treaty he had been engaged in when he had been abroad, or for any counsel he had ever given in his life, public or private; wherein, he doubted not, he should be found to have behaved him-

self (according to the weak abilities God had given him) with fidelity to his master, and with all imaginable affection to his country, how unhappily soever he had been represented.

1327 The first treaty, he said, was with the crown of Portugal; in which he was none of the commissioners who treated, and was only present when any report was made by the commissioners to the king, or to the council-board, where all the articles were debated; and he did not remember that there had been any difference of opinion upon any of them: and that treaty had been generally held the best that hath been made with any crown, the merchants having thereby greater advantages in trade than they have in any other place, besides many other great benefits, with a great enlargement of his majesty's empire.

1328 The second treaty was with the States of the United Provinces; in which likewise he was none of the commissioners who treated: but all that was by them transacted was still brought to the council-board, and debated there in his majesty's presence; in which the rule by which his majesty guided himself was, that he would not remit any of those concessions which had been formerly made by them in their last treaty with Cromwell; and their unwillingness to consent to that was the reason that their ambassadors proceeded so slowly. And his majesty had the less reason to be solicitous for expedition, because the king of France had given his royal word, and proposed it himself, "that the two crowns might proceed in the several treaties with the Dutch together, that so they might be brought to those good conditions, that they might live like good neighbours with both the crowns, which," he observed, "they were not naturally inclined to do;" and promised positively, "that for his part he would not conclude any thing with the Dutch, before he had entirely communicated the same to his majesty." Notwithstanding

which engagement, France entered into and finished their treaty ; and in it made that secret article, which they declared afterwards to be the ground [of] their obligation to assist the Dutch in the ensuing war. However, his majesty proceeded not, till the Holland ambassadors consented to all that had been before granted to Cromwell : which being done, the peace was made and ratified on both sides ; and without doubt was with more advantage and honour to the English, than ever had been provided by any former treaty between the crown of England and those States.

- 1329 From the two crowns of Sweden and Denmark ambassadors extraordinary arrived at London shortly after the king's return, and the several treaties were made with both those crowns before the departure of the ambassadors : in neither of which treaties the chancellor was a commissioner, nor knew any thing that passed in either, but as it was represented at the council-board, and debated in his majesty's presence ; nor did he ever hear that either of them was reckoned a disadvantageous treaty, both of them containing as much benefit to the English as any treaties which had been made before with those crowns. He said, it was very true, that there were some unusual expressions of kindness and friendship in the treaty with Denmark ; which, in respect of that king's being at that time in a very low condition, under the disadvantageous conditions of the treaty at Copenhagen newly submitted to, and under almost as ill a treaty extorted from that crown by the Dutch, and yet being in terrible apprehension of some new oppression from the one and from the other, the ambassador did very earnestly solicit to have inserted ; and which were upon great deliberation allowed and inserted by his majesty's own particular direction, in consideration of the near alliance in blood between his majesty and that king, and the civilities and obligations

his majesty had received from Denmark, during his being in Holland after the murder of his father, and during his being in Scotland, when the king of Denmark sent him horses, arms, and ammunition. Of which his majesty had so great a sense, that he was often heard to say, "that if it had pleased God to have brought him home before that disadvantageous peace at Copenhagen had been made," (which had been done by the countenance of the English ships, and the threats of those who were then ambassadors from the governing power in England,) "he would have done the best he could to have defended and protected him:" and therefore he did very readily yield to that article drawn by the ambassador; his majesty declaring at the same time, "that he was very willing that those princes, who were neighbours to Denmark, and from whom that kingdom apprehended new oppressions, should know his majesty's resolutions to support that king, and to defend him from new injuries; to which the policy of his government, as well as his friendship, inclined and obliged him; though it is very true, the king of Denmark did shortly after make very ill returns to his majesty for that his so signal affection.

1330 These were all the treaties made by the king before the war with the Dutch, (for there was very little progress made either with France or Spain, for the reasons mentioned before,) except only a short treaty with the elector of Brandenburg; which treaty was, for the most part, particular with reference only to the prince of Orange, his majesty's nephew, and for the better ordering his affairs. In which treaty his majesty likewise employed five or six of his council: and the few articles between his majesty and that elector in point of state were likewise transacted by them, and debated and considered at the council-board, and in which all things were inserted for his majesty's benefit and service; and if they

had not been afterwards violated by the elector, the king would have reaped much fruit and advantage even from that treaty.

<sup>1331</sup> After the war was entered into with Holland, his majesty sent Mr. Coventry to Sweden, and sir Gilbert Talbot to Denmark, to dispose those two crowns to a confidence in each other, and then to dispose them both to adhere to his majesty, or at least not to assist or favour the Dutch. The treaty with Sweden succeeded to his majesty's wish, and was concluded in a league defensive, very much to the king's satisfaction, and with the full approbation of the whole board; that crown having manifested so much affection, and such an inclination to an entire conjunction with him, that upon very reasonable conditions they would have been induced to have entered into a league offensive, and even into the present war against the Dutch: in order to which, they sent their ambassadors to the king at the same time when Mr. Coventry returned, and they became the mediators for the peace; having first declared to his majesty, "that if the treaty should prove ineffectual, the crown of Sweden would immediately join with his majesty against the Dutch." What became of the other treaty with Denmark is publicly known, his majesty having declared to all the world how perfidiously he was treated by the Dane.

<sup>1332</sup> There remains only one other treaty to be mentioned, which is the last with the Dutch, upon which the peace was made: and therefore it will be necessary to set down the inducements to that treaty, the whole progress and conclusion of it; by all which it will easily appear that his majesty was neither betrayed nor deluded in it, or, if he were, that it was not done by him.

<sup>1333</sup> After so many encounters and various successes in the war, which had been carried on with a much greater expense than his majesty at his first entrance into it was persuaded it would cost him; when he saw the strength

and power of the Dutch so much increased by the conjunction of France and Denmark, who supplied them with money, ships, and what they more wanted, with men as many as they desired; and that all the propositions he could make to Spain could not induce them to enter into such an alliance with him, as might embark them against France, notwithstanding it was evident to all but themselves, that the French resolved to break the peace with them, having at that time published those declarations which they afterwards made the ground of the war: his majesty clearly discerned, that the Dutch grew less weary of the war than they had before seemed to have been; and that they would be able, with that assistance and conjunction, to continue the war with less inconvenience than his majesty was like to do.

<sup>1334</sup> He had found it necessary for straitening the trade of the enemy, (the depriving them of which could only induce them to desire a peace, and which he could not do by the strength of his own ships, which were still kept together to encounter their fleet,) to grant commissions upon letters of marque to as many private men of war as desired the same, and with such strict orders and limitations as are necessary in those cases; and he found indeed the advantage very great, in the damage those men of war did to the enemy, which was considerable, and gave them great trouble. On the other side, the common seamen chose much rather to go on board those men of war, where their profit out of their shares of the booty was greater, and their hazards much less, than in the king's ships, where they got only blows without booty, though their pay and provisions were much greater than they had been in any former time: so that when the royal fleet was to be set out, there was greater difficulty in procuring seamen and mariners to man it.

<sup>1335</sup> And then, whereas the advancement of trade was made the great end of the war, it was now found necessary to

suppress all trade, that there might be mariners enough to furnish the ships for the carrying on the war. And this inconvenience produced another mischief: for by the great diminution and even suppression of trade, there was likewise so great a fall in the customs, excise, and all other branches of the king's revenue, that it was evident enough that his majesty would have little to carry on the war, but what should arise by imposition in parliament upon the people; who already complained loudly of the decay of their rents, of the small and low prices which their commodities yielded by the cessation of trade, and especially by the carrying all the money in specie from the several counties to London for the carrying on the war. And the parliament itself appeared so weary of it, that, instead of granting a new supply proportionable to the charge, they fell upon expedients to raise money by the sale of part of the king's revenue, which was already too small to support the ordinary and necessary expense of the crown.

1336 But above all, his majesty was most discouraged by the extreme license of the seamen in general; but especially of those who were called privateers, set out in the particular ships of war upon adventure, who made no distinction between friends and foes; but, as if the sea had been their own quarters, they seized upon all ships which passed within their view, and either pillaged them entirely, and so dismissed them, (which they usually did to those which they foresaw would be delivered by the course of justice,) or else brought them into the harbours, after they had taken from them what they best liked. And then the formal proceedings in the court of admiralty were so dilatory, and involved in so many appeals, that the prosecution of justice for injuries received grew as grievous as the injury itself; which drew an universal clamour from all nations, "that without being parties to the war they were all treated as enemies."

1337 France had made the damage they had this way received, and the interruption of their trade, a great part of their quarrel, and one ground of their conjunction with the Dutch. From Spain, which really wished better to us than to our enemies, the complaints were as great; "that their whole trade was destroyed; their ships of Flanders, which supplied Spain with what they wanted for themselves, and with what was necessary for their trade and intercourse with the Indies, were all taken as Dutch, because it was very hard to distinguish them by their language:" which was likewise the case of all the Hanse-towns, which made grievous complaints, and had without doubt received great damage. Those princes of Italy whose dominions reached to the sea, as the two republics of Venice and Genoa, and the duke of Florence, expostulated very grievously for their ships taken by those freebooters of Scotland and of Ireland, both which nations enriched themselves very much upon such depredations. And how much soever the royal navy was weakened every day, the number of those men of war wonderfully increased; so that those kind of ships, of England, Scotland, and Ireland, covered the whole ocean: and of those ships which were taken and carried into Scotland or Ireland, (in England there were many redeliveries,) it was observed, that there were *vestigia nulla retrorsum*. Even Sweden itself, with whom a new stricter alliance was entered into at that time, with as severe restrictions to that license of the men of war as could be contrived for the liberty and security of the trade of that crown, complained exceedingly of the violation of all those concessions and provisions, and that their ships were every day taken and plundered. And this universal complaint began to awaken all princes to a jealousy, that the English endeavoured to restrain all trade, till they could make themselves the entire masters of it, and by their naval power put some imposition upon the whole traffick of Europe.



1338 It is very true, at the first entrance into the war there had been many unskilful expressions, even in the parliament itself, as well as in the frequent discourses of parliament-men, “that by this war, and by suppressing the power of the Dutch at sea,” (of which they made not the least doubt,) “the king would be able to give the law to all the trade of the world, and that no ships should pass the sea without paying some tribute to England:” which liberty and rashness of discourse made great impression upon those who wished mischief enough to the Dutch, till they saw what danger might ensue to themselves by the success of the English; and thereupon wished that they might break themselves upon each other, without advantage to either party. And this general distemper and complaint made the deeper impression upon the king, by his discerning an extreme difficulty, if not an impossibility, to give any just remedy to it; and consequently, that he should be shortly looked upon as a common enemy.

1339 He had taken very great pains, upon deliberate consultations, to suppress that odious irregularity and destructive license that was practised amongst the seamen, and had in many particular cases himself examined the excess, and caused exemplary justice to be done upon the offenders, and restitution to be made of what had been taken, at least of what was left; for no justice could preserve the injured persons from being losers. He had granted such rules and privileges and protection to the ports in Flanders, and to others of his allies, as themselves desired, and looked upon as full security; but then he quickly found, that from those very ports and in those very ships which enjoyed those privileges, the trade of the Dutch was driven on: so that it was evident that by that liberty, which other nations thought themselves in justice entitled to, if not restrained, the Hollanders themselves would be easily able to carry on their whole trade in the ships of Flanders,

Hamburgh, and the other free towns, or in their own ships owned by the other; and that the restraint would likewise be impossible, without a total suppression of those men of war, and a revocation of all commissions granted to them or any of them, which would likewise be attended with the freedom and security of trade to all his majesty's enemies.

<sup>1340</sup> In the last encounter at sea, the Prince Royal, and three other of his majesty's navy, had been lost; and another, the London, had been burned in the river by the negligence of the seamen; for there was never any discovery made, that there was any purpose or malice in it. The French had obliged themselves, that the duke of Beaufort, admiral of France, should, with the whole fleet under his command, amounting to eighteen good ships, join with the Dutch; and the king of Denmark was likewise engaged to send all his great ships, which were ten or a dozen, in order to the like conjunction. so that it was evident to his majesty, that the enemy would be much superior to him in strength and power, though he had been able to have manned and set out all his royal navy; which he well foresaw he should not be able to do, both for want of money and want of seamen, who were already in great disorder and mutiny for want of their pay, of which there was indeed a great arrear due to them. And, which was worse, there was grown such an animosity amongst the principal officers of the fleet between themselves, that the whole discipline was corrupted; so that it was hard to resolve into what hands to put the government thereof, if it could have been made ready.

<sup>1341</sup> Upon which, and the whole state of affairs, and upon deliberation and frequent consultation with the principal officers of the sea, and such others whose experience in such matters rendered them most capable to give advice, the king found it most counsellable to resolve to make a

defensive war the next year, and to lay up all his great ships, and to have some squadrons of the lighter vessels to continue in several quarters assigned to them, which should be ready to take all advantages which should be offered; and that there should be likewise ready in the river another good squadron of ships against the end of the summer, which being ready to join with those which lay out, when the enemy was weary and their ships foul, would be able to take many notable advantages upon them; of which they who advised it were so confident, that they did believe this defensive way thus ordered and prosecuted would prove a greater damage to the enemy in their trade, and all other respects, than they had ever undergone. And in all this counsel and resolution the chancellor had no other part than being present; and, not understanding the subject-matter of debate, could not be able to answer any of the reasons that had been alleged.

- 1342 These considerations, upon a full survey of his ill condition at home and abroad, induced the king to wish that there were a good end of the war; of which inclination his majesty vouchsafed to inform the chancellor, well knowing that he would be very glad to contribute all he could to it, as a thing he desired most in this world, and which he thought would prove the greatest benefit to the king and kingdom; and his majesty likewise told him, “that he found all those, who had been most forward and impatient to enter into this war, were now weary of it, and would be glad of a peace:” so that there remained now nothing to do, but for his majesty to advise with those whom he thought fit, (for there seemed many reasons to conceal both the inclination to peace, and the resolution not to set out a summer fleet, from being publicly known,) what method to observe, and what expedients to make use of, for the better procuring this wished for peace, without appearing to be too solicitous or impor-

tunate for it, or so weary of the war as in truth he was. And to this consultation the king was pleased to call together with his royal brother, prince Rupert, the chancellor, the general, the lord treasurer, and those other honourable persons with whom he used to advise in his most secret and most important affairs.

1343 That which occurred first to consider was, whether there were any hope to divide the French from the Dutch; upon which supposition the prospect was not unpleasant, the war with one of them being hopefully enough to be pursued; the conjunction was only formidable. And to this purpose several attempts had been made both in France and in Holland; both sides being equally resolved not to separate from each other, till a joint peace should be made with England, though they both owned a jealousy of each other: those of Holland having a terrible apprehension and foresight of the king of France's designs upon Flanders, which would make his greatness too near a neighbour to their territories; besides that the logic of his demands upon the devolution and nullity of the treaty upon the marriage was equally applicable to their whole interest, as it was to their demands from the king of Spain. And France, upon all the attacks they had made both in France with the Dutch ambassador there, and in Holland by their own ambassador, found clearly, that they were to expect no assistance from the Dutch in their designs, and that at least they wished them ill success, and would probably contribute to it upon the first occasion: and this made them willing to put an end to their so strict alliance, which was already very chargeable to them, and not like to be attended with any notable advantage, except in weakening an ally from whom they might probably receive much more advantage.

1344 However, neither the one nor the other would be induced to enter into any treaty apart, though they both

seemed willing and desirous of a peace ; in order to which, the Dutch, through the Swedes ambassadors' hands, had writ to the king, "to offer a treaty in any such neutral place as his majesty should make choice of;" professing, "that they should make no scruple of sending their ambassadors directly to his majesty, but that their conjunction with the other two crowns, who required a neutral place, would not admit that condescension." And at the same time they intimated to the Swedes ambassadors, "that the king of France would not send his ambassadors into Flanders, or any place of the king of Spain's dominions;" and therefore wished, "that his majesty would make choice of Dusseldorp, Cologne, Francfort, or Ham-burgh, or any other place that his majesty should think more convenient than the other, under that exception:" all which places, and in truth any other out of the king of Spain's dominions, were at such a distance, (the winter being now near over,) that there could be no reasonable expectation of the fruit of the treaty in time to prevent more acts of hostility.

- 1345 How the treaty came afterwards to be introduced by overtures from France, and what preliminaries were first proposed from thence by the earl of St. Alban's and how agreed to by his majesty; how the place of the treaty came to be adjusted, the ambassadors chosen, and the whole progress thereupon, and the publication of the articles of the peace; is so particularly set forth in this narrative before, that it needs not to be repeated here. And one of the ambassadors repairing, as is there said, to the king, and giving him an account of all that had passed before any thing was concluded, and every particular having been debated at the council-board and consented to; he said, he could not understand how his majesty could be deluded or betrayed in that treaty, which passed with such a full examination and disquisition, and in all which debates his majesty himself had taken the pains to dis-

course more, and to enlarge in the answer to all objections which were foreseen, than he had been ever known to have done upon any other article.

<sup>1346</sup> It is very true, that the chancellor had been commanded by the king to write most of the letters which had been sent to the earl of St. Alban's, from the time of his going over concerning the treaty, his lordship having likewise directed most of his letters to him; and most of the despatches to the ambassadors were likewise prepared by him, they being by their instructions (without his desire or privity) to transmit all accounts to one of the secretaries or to himself. But, he said, it was as true, that he never received a letter from either of them, but it was read entirely, in his majesty's presence, to those lords of the council who were assigned for that service, where directions were given what answer should be returned; and he never did return any answer to either of them, without having first read it to the council, or having first sent it to one of the secretaries, to be read to his majesty. And he did with a very good conscience protest to all the world, that he never did the least thing, or gave the least advice, relating to the war, or relating to the peace, which he would not have done, if he had been to expire the next minute, and to have given an account thereof to God Almighty.

<sup>1347</sup> And as his majesty prudently, piously, and passionately desired to put an end to that war, so no man appeared more delighted with the peace when it was concluded, than his majesty himself did; though, he said, as far as he could make any judgment of public affairs, the publication of that peace was attended with the most universal joy and acclamations of the whole nation, that can be imagined. Nor is it easy to forget the general consternation that the city and people of all conditions were in, when the Dutch came into the river as high as Chatham; and when the distemper in the court itself was so great,

that many persons of quality and title, in the galleries and privy lodgings, very indecently every day vented their passions in bitter execrations against those who had first counselled and brought on the war, and wishing that an end were put to it by any peace; some of which persons, within very few days after, as bitterly inveighed against the peace itself, and against the promoters of it. But, he said, he was yet so far from repenting or being ashamed of the part he had in it, that he looked upon it as a great honour, that the last service he performed for his majesty was the sealing the proclamations, and other instructions, for the conclusion and perfection of that peace, the great seal of England being that very day sent for and taken from him.

<sup>1348</sup> The seventeenth and last article was, "That he was a principal author of that fatal counsel of dividing the fleet about June 1666."

<sup>1349</sup> For answer to this, he set down at large an account of all the agitation that was in council upon that affair, and that the dividing and separation of the fleet at that time was by the election and advice of the two generals, and not by the order or direction of the council: all which hath been at large, in that part of this discourse which relates to the transactions of that time<sup>a</sup>, set down, and therefore needs not to be again inserted.

<sup>1350</sup> He took notice of the prejudice that might befall him, in the opinion of good men, by his absenting himself, and thereby declining the full examination and trial which the public justice would have allowed him; which obliged him to set down all the particulars which passed from the taking the seal from him, the messages he had received by the bishop of Hereford, and finally the advice and command the bishop of Winchester brought him from the duke of York with the approbation of the king. Upon all which, and the great distemper that appeared in the

<sup>a</sup> See above, Continuation, par. 868, &c.

two houses at that time, and which was pacified upon his withdrawing, he did hope, that all dispassioned men would believe that he had not deserted and betrayed his own innocence; but on the contrary, that he had complied with that obligation and duty which he had always paid to his majesty and to his service, in choosing at that time to sacrifice his own honour to the least intimation of his majesty's pleasure, and when the least inconvenience might have befallen it by his obstinacy, though in his own defence: and concluded, that though his enemies, who had by all the evil arts imaginable contrived his destruction, had yet the power and the credit to infuse into his majesty's ears stories of words spoken and things done by him, of all which he was as innocent as he was at the time of his birth, and other jealousies of a nature so odious, that themselves had not the confidence publicly to own; yet, he said, notwithstanding all those disadvantages for the present, he did not despair, but that his majesty, in his goodness and justice, might in due time discover the foul artifices which had been used to gain credit with him, and would reflect graciously upon some poor services (how over-rewarded soever) heretofore performed by him, the memory whereof would prevail with him to think, that the banishing him out of his country, and forcing him to seek his bread in foreign parts at this age, is a very severe judgment. However, he was confident that posterity will clearly discern his innocence and integrity in all those particulars, which have been as untruly as maliciously laid to his charge by men who did nothing before, or have done any thing since, that will make them be thought to be wise or honest men; and will believe his misfortunes to have been much greater than his faults.

1351 As soon as he had digested and transmitted this his answer and vindication to his children, which he did in a short time after his arrival at Montpelier, he appeared to



all men who conversed with him, to be entirely possessed of so much tranquillity of mind, and so unconcerned in all that had been done to him or said of him, that men believed the temper to be affected with much art; and [that it] could not be natural in a man, who was known to have so great an affection for his own country, the air and climate thereof; and to take so much delight and pleasure in his relations, from whom he was now banished, and at such a distance, that he could not wish that they should undergo the inconveniences in many respects which were like to attend their making him many visits. But when there was visibly always in him such a vivacity and cheerfulness as could not be counterfeited, that was not interrupted nor clouded upon such ill news as came every week out of England, of the improvement of the power and insolence of his enemies; all men concluded, that he had somewhat about him above a good constitution, and prosecuted him with all the offices of civility and respect they could manifest towards a stranger.

1352 There were two inconveniences which he foresaw might happen, and could not but discompose the serenity of his mind. The first, and that which gave him least apprehension, though he could not avoid the thinking of it, nor the trouble of those thoughts which could not be separated from it, was, how he should be able to draw as much money out of England as would support his expense; which, though husbanded with as much frugality as could be used with any decency, he foresaw would amount to a greater proportion than he had proposed to himself. His indisposition and infirmity, which either kept him under the actual and sharp visitation of the gout, or, when the vigour of that was abated, in much weakness of his limbs when the pain was gone, were so great, that he could not be without the attendance of four servants about his own person; having, in those sea-

sons when he enjoyed most health and underwent least pain, his knees, legs, and feet so weak, that he could not walk, especially up or down stairs, without the help of two men; and when he was seized upon by the gout, they were not able to perform the office of watching: so that to the English servants which he had brought with him, which with a cook, and a maid to wash his linen, amounted to six or seven, he was compelled to take four or five French servants for the market and other offices of the house; and his lodging cost him above two hundred pistoles. But all the apprehensions of this kind were upon short reflections composed, in the assurance he had of the affection and piety of his children, who he believed out of his and their own state would raise enough for his unavoidable disbursements.

1353 The other apprehension stuck closer to him, and made him even tremble in the very reflection. He could not forget the treatment he had between Calais and Roan, and the strange violent importunity that was used to him to get out of the kingdom, when he had not strength to get out of his bed. And though he was now at ease from such inhuman pressures; yet his enemies, who had even extorted that importunity from a people not inclined to such incivilities, had still the same power, and the same malice, and a froppish kind of insolence, that delighted to deprive him of any thing that pleased him, and manifestly pleased itself in vexing him. And if they should again prevail with the same ministers to remove him from his quiet, and oblige him to new journeys, the same spirit would chase him from place to place; there being none in view like to be superior to their influence, when France had been subdued by it. So that besides the impossibility of preserving the peace and repose of his mind in so grievous a fatigue, and continual torture of his body, he saw no hope of rest but in his grave. And against this

kind of tyranny he could by no reasonable discourse with himself provide any security, or stock of courage to support it.

<sup>1354</sup> His friend the abbot Mountague, who was the only advocate he had to that court, used all his powerful rhetoric to allay those fears, and to comfort him against those melancholic apprehensions, by assuring him, “that the ministers were far from such inclinations, and that nothing but reason of state could dispose them to that severity:” yet he prepared him not to think of removing from Montpellier, without first acquainting that court with it. And when afterwards he proposed to him, “that he might have leave to reside in Orleans, or some other city, at such a nearer distance from England, that his children or friends might more easily repair to him;” the court did not like the proposition, but proposed Moulins, whither they would not yet give him a pass, till first their ambassador in England should know that it would not be unacceptable to his majesty: so that he found himself upon the matter not only banished from his country, but confined to Montpellier, without any assurance that he should not be again shortly banished from thence.

<sup>1355</sup> However after he had revolved all the expedients that occurred to him for the prevention of such a mischief, he concluded there was no other remedy to be applied to those contingencies, than in acquiescing in the good pleasure of God, and depending upon Him to enable him to bear what no discretion or foresight of his own could prevent. And in this composure of mind he betook himself to his books, and to the entertainment and exercise of such thoughts, as were most like to divert him from others which would be more unpleasant.

<sup>1356</sup> God blessed him very much in this composure and retreat. And the first consolation he administered to himself was from the reflection upon the wonderful and un-

usual proceedings and prosecution that had been against him, in another kind of manner, and after another measure, than used to be practised by the most bitter enemies, and than was necessary to their ends and advantages who had contrived them: not to mention the malice and injustice of their first design of removing him from the trust and credit he had with the king, and to alienate his majesty's affection and kindness from him, to which the corrupt hopes and expectation of benefit to themselves might incline them; and then such unrighteous ends cannot naturally be prosecuted but by as unrighteous means. When they were not only privy to but contrivers of his escape, which they looked upon as attended with more benefit to them than his imprisonment or the taking his life could have been; when they were secure of his absence, and of no more being troubled or contradicted by him, by the bill of banishment, by which they broke their faith and promises to the king, and made him depart from his own resolutions: to what purpose was all their other prosecution of him both at home and abroad, more derogatory to the king's honour, and that innate goodness of nature and clemency that all men know he abounds in, than mischievous to him? why must he be absurdly charged with counsels and actions, of which he could never be suspected? and why must his name be struck out of all books of council, and catalogues and lists of servants, that it might not appear that he had ever been a counsellor of state, or a magistrate of justice; a method that was never practised towards the greatest malefactor? to what worthy or necessary end could that exorbitant demand be made and pursued in France, to expose him and the honour of that crown to the general reproach of all men, with such unparalleled circumstances.

1357 These very extraordinary attempts and unheard of devices seemed to all wise men but the last effort of vulgar

spirited persons, and the faint grasping of impotent malice; and instead of depressing the spirits of him they hated, raised his confidence, that God would not permit such gross inventions of very ill and shortsighted men to triumph in the ruin of an honest man, whose heart was always fixed upon his protection, and whom he had so often preserved from more powerful stratagems: and he did really believe, that the Divine justice would at some time expose the pride and ambition of those men to the infamy they deserved.

1358 To those persons with whom he did with the most freedom communicate, he did often profess, that upon the strictest inquisition he could make into all his actions from the time of the king's return, when his condition was generally thought to have been very prosperous, though at best it was exercised with many thorns which made it uneasy, he could not reflect upon any one thing he had done, (amongst many which he doubted not were justly liable to the reproach of weakness and vanity,) of which he was so much ashamed, as he was of the vast expense he had made in the building of his house; which had more contributed to that gust of envy that had so violently shaken him, than any misdemeanour that he was thought to have been guilty of; and which had infinitely discomposed his whole affairs, and broken his estate. For all which he had no other excuse to make, than that he was necessitated to quit the habitation he was in at Worcester-house, which the owner required, and for which he had always paid five hundred pounds yearly rent, and could not find any convenient house to live in, except he built one himself, (to which he was naturally too much inclined;) and that he had so much encouragement thereunto from the king himself, that his majesty vouchsafed to appoint the place upon which it should stand, and graciously to bestow the inheritance of the land upon him after a short term of years, which he

purchased from the present possessor : which approbation and bounty of his majesty was his greatest encouragement. And his own unskilfulness in architecture, and the positive undertaking of a gentleman, (who had skill enough, and a good reward for his skill,) that the expense should not amount to a third part of what in truth it afterwards amounted to, which he could without eminent inconvenience have disbursed, involved [him] in that rash enterprise, that proved so fatal and mischievous to him ; not only in the accumulation of envy and prejudice that it brought upon him, but in the entanglement of a great debt, that broke all his measures ; and, under the weight of his sudden, unexpected misfortune, made his condition very uneasy, and near insupportable.

<sup>1359</sup> And this he took all occasions to confess, and to reproach himself with the folly of it. And yet, when his children and his nearest friends proposed and advised the sale of it in his banishment, for the payment of his debts, and making some provision for two younger children ; he remained still so much infatuated with the delight he had enjoyed, that, though he was deprived of it, he hearkened very unwillingly to the advice ; and expressly refused to approve it, until such a sum should be offered for it, as held some proportion to the money he had laid out ; and could not conceal some confidence he had, that he should live to be restored to it, and to be vindicated from the brand he suffered under, except his particular complete ruin were involved in the general distraction and confusion of his country, of which he had a more sensible and serious apprehension.

<sup>1360</sup> He was wont to say, “ that of the infinite blessings which God had vouchsafed to confer upon him almost from his cradle,” amongst which he delighted in the reckoning up many signal instances, “ he esteemed himself so happy in none as in his three acquiescences,” which he called “ his three vacations and retreats he had

in his life enjoyed from business of trouble and vexation;” and in every of which God had given him grace and opportunity to make full reflections upon his actions, and his observations upon what he had done himself, and what he had seen others do and suffer; to repair the breaches in his own mind, and to fortify himself with new resolutions against future encounters, in an entire resignation of all his thoughts and purposes into the disposal of God Almighty, and in a firm confidence of his protection and deliverance in all the difficulties he should be obliged to contend with; and towards the obtaining whereof, he renewed those vows and promises of integrity and hearty endeavour to perform his duty, which are the only means to procure the continuance of that protection and deliverance.

1361 The first of these recesses or acquiescences was, his remaining and residing in Jersey, when the prince of Wales, his now majesty, first went into France upon the command of the queen his mother, contrary, as to the time, to the opinion of the council the king his father had directed him to govern himself by, and, as they conceived, contrary to his majesty’s own judgment, the knowing whereof they only waited for; and his stay there, during that time that his highness first remained at Paris and St. Germain’s, until his expedition afterwards to the fleet and in the Downs. His second was, when he was sent by his majesty as his ambassador, together with the lord Cottington, into Spain; in which two full years were spent before he waited upon the king again. And the third was his last recess, by the disgrace he underwent, and by the act of banishment. In which three acquiescences, he had learned more, knew himself and other men much better, and served God and his country with more devotion, and he hoped more effectually, than in all the other more active part of his life.

1362 He used to say, that he spent too much of his younger

years in company and conversation, and too little with books; which was in some degree repaired, by the greatest part of his conversation being with persons of very eminent parts of learning and virtue, and never with men of loose and debauched manners. And he took great pleasure frequently to remember and mention the names of those with whom he kept most company, when he first entered into the world; many whereof lived to be very eminent in church and state: to whose information and example, and to the affection, awe, and reverence, he had to their persons, he did acknowledge to owe all that was commendable [in] him. He did very much affect to be loved and esteemed amongst men of good name and reputation, which made him warily avoid the company of loose and dissolute men, and to preserve himself from any notable scandal of any kind, and to live *cautè*, if not *castè*. Nor was the conversation he lived in liable to any other exception, than that it was with men superior to him in their quality and their fortunes, which exposed him to greater expense than his fortune would warrant: and yet it pleased God to preserve him from ever undergoing any reproach or inconvenience.

1363 He accused himself of entering too soon out of a life of ease and pleasure and too much idleness, into a life of too much business, that required more labour and experience and knowledge than he was supplied for; for he put on his gown as soon as he was called to the bar; and, by the countenance of persons in place and authority, as soon engaged himself in the business of the profession as he put on his gown, and to that degree in practice, that gave little time for study, that he had too much neglected before; besides that he still indulged to his beloved conversation. Few years passed before the troubles in Scotland appeared, and the little parliament was convened; which being dissolved and presently a new one called, he was a member in both, and wholly gave himself up to the public



affairs agitated there, and where he was enough esteemed and employed, till the spirit reigned there, and drove men of his principles from thence.

1364 He was entirely and without reserve trusted, with two other of his friends, in all the king's affairs which related to the parliament, before the rebellion appeared; which brought him into prejudice and jealousy with many of both houses, who before were very kind to him. And in the beginning of the rebellion he was sworn of the privy-council and made chancellor of the exchequer: and from this time the pains he took, and the great fatigue he underwent, were notorious to all men; insomuch as, the refreshment of dinner excepted—for he never supped—he had very little of the day, and not much of the night, vacant from the most important business.

1365 When the prince was separated from his father, the king commanded him to attend his highness into the west, under more than a common trust: and the inequality of humours amongst the counsellors, the wants and necessities of the prince's little court and family, the want of wisdom in his governor, that made him want that respect from the prince and all other people that was due to him, the faction amongst all the country gentlemen, and, above all, the ill success in the king's affairs, and the prevalence of the parliament in all places, made the province he had very uncomfortable and uneasy. The unavoidable necessity of transporting the person of the prince out of the kingdom (which was intrusted only to four of the council by the king, and by his command reserved from his governor and another) when there should be apparent danger of his falling into the hands of the rebels, and the as necessary deferring it till that danger was even in view, and the designs of some of the prince's servants with the county to obstruct and prevent it when it was in view; the executing it in a seasonable article of time before or in the moment that it was suspected, and

disguising it by a retreat to Scilly, and staying there till they could be provided for a farther voyage; and then the prince's remove from thence to Jersey, the contests which happened there between the counsellors upon the queen's commands for his highness's present repair into France, her majesty's declared displeasure, and the personal animosities which grew from thence between the persons in the greatest trust; were all particulars of that weight and distraction, that made great impression upon his mind and faculties, which needed much reflection and contemplation to compose them.

1366 This first retreat gave him opportunity and leisure to call himself to a strict account for whatsoever he had done, upon revolving of all his particular actions, and the behaviour of other men; and to compose those affections and allay those passions, which, in the warmth of perpetual actions and chafed by continual contradictions, had need of rest, and [cool] and deliberate cogitations. He had now time to mend his understanding, and to correct the defects and infirmities of his nature, by the observation of and reflection upon the grounds and successes of those counsels he had been privy to, upon the several tempers and distempers of men employed both in the martial and civil affairs of the greatest importance, and upon the experience he had and the observation he had made in the three or four last years, where the part he had acted himself differed so much from all the former transactions and commerce of his life.

1367 He had originally in his nature so great a tenderness and love towards mankind, that he did not only detest all calumniating and detraction towards the lessening the credit or parts or reputation of any man, but did really believe that all men were such as they seemed or appeared to be; that they had the same justice and candour and goodness in their nature, that they professed to have; and thought no men to be wicked and dishonest and corrupt, but

those who in their manners and lives gave unquestionable evidence of it; and even amongst those he did think most to err and do amiss, rather out of weakness and ignorance, for want of friends and good counsel, than out of the malice and wickedness of their natures.

1368 But now, upon the observation and experience he had in the parliament, (and he believed he could have made the discovery no where else, without doubt not so soon,) he reformed all those mistakes, and mended that easiness of his understanding. He had seen those there, upon whose ingenuity and probity he would willingly have deposited all his concerns of this world, behave themselves with that signal uningenuity and improbity that must pull up all confidence by the roots; men of the most unsuspected integrity, and of the greatest eminence for their piety and devotion, most industrious to impose upon and to cozen men of weaker parts and understanding, upon the credit of their sincerity, to concur with them in mischievous opinions, which they did not comprehend, and which conduced to dishonest actions they did not intend. He saw the most bloody and inhuman rebellion contrived by them who were generally believed to be the most solicitous and zealous for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, with such art and subtilty, and so great pretences to religion, that it looked like ill-nature to believe that such sanctified persons could entertain any but holy purposes. In a word, religion was made a cloak to cover the most impious designs; and reputation of honesty, a stratagem to deceive and cheat others who had no mind to be wicked. The court [was] as full of murmuring, ingratitude, and treachery, [and] as willing and ready to rebel against the best and most bountiful master in the world, as the country and the city. A barbarous and bloody fierceness and savageness had extinguished all relations, hardened the hearts and bowels of all men; and an universal malice and animosity had even

covered the most innocent and best-natured people and nation upon the earth.

1369 These unavoidable reflections first made him discern how weak and foolish all his former imaginations had been, and how blind a surveyor he had been of the inclinations and affections of the heart of man; and it made him likewise conclude from thence, how uncomfortable and vain the dependance must be upon any thing in this world, where whatsoever is good and desirable suddenly perisheth, and nothing is lasting but the folly and wickedness of the inhabitants thereof. In this first vacation, he had leisure to read many learned and pious books; and here he began to compose his Meditations upon the Psalms, by applying those devotions to the present afflictions and calamities of his king and country. He began now by the especial encouragement of the king, who was then a prisoner in the army, to write *The History of the late Rebellion and Civil Wars*, and finished the four first books thereof; and made an entry upon some exercises of devotion, which he lived to enlarge afterwards.

1370 When he had enjoyed, in that pleasant island of Jersey, full two years, in as great serenity of mind as the separation from country, wife, and children, can be imagined to admit, he received a command from the queen, then at St. Germain's, and an express order from the king, upon which the other had been sent, his majesty being then prisoner in the Isle of Wight, that he should forthwith attend the person of the prince of Wales, who, upon the revolt of the ships under the command of the parliament in the Downs, and their profession of obedience to the king, was advised to make all possible haste to them; and the chancellor was required to wait upon his highness at Roan upon a day assigned, which was past before the orders came to him.

1371 And [then] without any delay he used all possible diligence to find the prince; who with greater expedition,

without coming to Roan, passed to Calais, and from thence to Holland to possess the ships which he found there, and possessed with all that alacrity (which is always very loud) that seamen can express; and by the assistance of the prince of Orange got more victual quickly on board, that he might be in the Downs with the fleet to second some attempt which was already on foot in Kent, and others expected in several parts of the kingdom. And the chancellor having in his way called upon the lord Cottington at Roan, and together with him, and some other persons of honour and quality, made what haste they could to Dieppe, that they might there embark for any place where they should hear the prince to be; there they were informed, that his highness was at the Brill in Holland. And thereupon they put themselves on board a French man of war, and upon the sea were taken prisoners by Ostenders, who, upon the advantage of being in the ship of an enemy, concluded them to be lawful prize, and treated them accordingly, with all the circumstances of barbarity; and after having plundered them thoroughly of money and jewels of great value, and stripped most of their servants to their shirts, they carried them in great triumph to Ostend; where though their persons were used with civility and respect, and presently set at liberty, yet they were compelled to stay there many days, in hope to obtain the jewels and money of which they had been robbed, and, finding that not to be done, (those privateers being subject to no discipline, nor regarding the orders of the admiralty, or any other governor,) to make such provision as was necessary for a further voyage. And at last they got from Ostend to Flushing, having found means to inform the prince of their misadventures, and of their readiness at Flushing to receive and obey his commands.

1372 The fleet was then in the Downs in so good a posture,

by the access of other ships and vessels to it, and by some notable commotions on land, that the prospect was fair and hopeful. And the prince received the advertisement no sooner, than he was pleased to send a frigate to Flushing for those who had been so long expected. But the winds proved then so cross and tempestuous in the gentlest season of the year, that after several attempts at sea, they were so often driven back again into the harbour, sometimes by very dangerous storms, that in the end they received new directions to attend the prince at the Hague, the fleet being at the same time under sail for that coast.

1373 The earl of Lautherdale was at that time come to the fleet as commissioner from the kingdom of Scotland, to inform the prince, that duke Hamilton with a powerful army was already marched into England; and thereupon to invite his highness to make what haste he could, to put himself in the head of that army, according to a promise the king had made in some private treaty with the Scots; and which the queen had sent very positive commands to be observed and obeyed. This was the reason, not without other more reasonable motives, so suddenly to quit the Downs, that he might get more victual for the fleet, and therewith sail to the north, and disembark in such a place as should be nearest to the Scots army, with which he doubted not to find a very considerable conjunction of the English; since he knew that sir Marmaduke Langdale had possessed himself with a body of English officers and gentlemen, of Berwick, and sir Philip Musgrave had done the same with the like assistance, at Carlisle, before the Scots began their march.

1374 The lord Cottington and the chancellor came to the Hague the next day after the prince's arrival, and were very graciously received by his highness, and with a wonderful kindness by all the court, and all the gentlemen

who had attended upon him ; not so much out of affection to them, as out of detestation of one another, who had kept company for the space of two months last past.

1375 The prince had found the common seamen full of such a keen devotion for his service upon the true principles of the cause, and for the redemption of the king his father out of prison, and so full of indignation against those who had formerly misled them into rebellion, especially the presbyterians ; that as they had before the declaration set all those officers on shore by force, who were appointed by the parliament to command them, so now they thought the new ones, which they had chosen for themselves, not fierce and resolute enough for their purposes. The truth is ; there had been much unskilful tampering amongst them by emissaries from Paris, and other attempts. And the duke of York, having made his escape very little time before, and being then at the Hague when the fleet came to Helvoetsluys, upon the first notice lost no time in making haste to them. It was generally known, that the king his father had long designed to make him high admiral of England ; and the commission which had been formerly granted to the earl of Northumberland they all knew to be repealed and cancelled : so that he no sooner came to the fleet, but he was received with the usual acclamations of joy as their admiral, and he as cheerfully assumed the command. And his small family presently began to propagate their several factions and animosities, with which they abounded, to make such parties amongst the seamen as might advance their several pretences. And in this posture the prince found the fleet when he came to it, and resolved to take the command immediately into his own hand, and that the duke should remain at the Hague with his sister, till that expedition were over ; and so he made haste with the fleet into the Downs, hoping that some present occasion would be the best expedient to extinguish that fire, and compose those

distempers, which he discerned already to be kindled amongst the seamen.

1376 The advice and instruction which were brought from Paris were grounded upon the treaty with Scotland, the marching of that army, and the expectation of some notable attempt by the presbyterian party in London; in order to which, all address was to be made to that city, and a declaration to be published to gratify that party. This secret was intrusted only to one of the council, and one other who was to be ministerial in whatsoever the other directed. And this temper was quickly discovered when they came into the Downs, by the great [care] that was taken to give no offence or interruption to the trade of the city, which all men believed would be the best means to reduce it. Ships of return, richly laden, were suffered quietly to pass thither; others coming from thence, very well freighted, were likewise quietly permitted to prosecute their voyage: all which was passionately opposed by prince Rupert and all the rest of the council. And this contradiction was quickly known to the lords of the bedchamber, and others, who had no reverence for that council, and were now the more inflamed upon this division of opinion. And the seamen likewise coming to take notice of it, cried out, "the prince was betrayed;" and grew into such rage and fury, that they declared, "that they would throw those overboard who gave the prince such evil counsel." Two or three unprosperous attempts at land, and then the lord Lautherdale's coming thither, and the order thereupon for the fleet to sail presently for Holland for the reasons aforesaid, kindled all those sparkles into a bright flame of dissension, so universal, that there were very few who spake with any civility of one another, or without the highest animosity that can be imagined.

1377 This was the distracted condition of affairs when the lord Cottington and the chancellor came to the Hague;



the council divided between themselves, and more offended with the court for presumption in making themselves of the council, and opposing whatsoever the other directed, by their private whispering to the prince in reproach of them, and their public murmurings against their persons for the counsel they gave, every man endeavouring to incense others against those who were not affected by him; and this ill humour increased by such an universal poverty, that very few knew where to find a subsistence for three months to come, or how to dispose of themselves. The clamour from the fleet was so high for new victual and for money, that there was apprehension just enough, that they would provide for themselves by returning to their old station; to which they had both opportunity and invitation, by the parliament's having set out another fleet superior in power to them, that were already at anchor in their view, under the command of the earl of Warwick, to block them up in that inconvenient harbour. The sudden news of the total defeat of the Scots army, and shortly after of the loss of Colchester, and taking the persons of so many gallant gentlemen, and murdering some of them in cold blood; the daily warm contests in council upon the insolent behaviour and the unreasonable demands of the lord Lautherdale, who as peremptorily insisted upon the prince's going immediately with the fleet into Scotland, as he had done before the total defeat of duke Hamilton, and without expecting to hear what alteration that fatal change had produced in that kingdom, which was very reasonable to apprehend, and in truth had at that time really fallen out: these and many other ill presages made the chancellor quickly find, that in his two years' repose in Jersey he had not fortified himself enough against future assaults, nor laid in ballast to be prepared to ride out the storms and tempests that he was like to be engaged in.

1378 The preservation of the fleet was a consideration that would bear no delay; and was in a short time, though with infinite difficulties and contests full of animosity, resolved to be by committing the charge of it to prince Rupert, who was to carry it into Ireland, where were many good ports in his majesty's obedience. But that was no sooner done, but the horrid murder of the king, and the formed dissolution of the monarchy there, and erecting and establishing the government in that kingdom with a seeming general consent, at least without any visible appearance or possibility of contradiction or opposition; the faint proclamation of the present king in Scotland, under the same conditions which they would have imposed, and with all the circumstances with which they had prosecuted the rebellion against his father; the resolution what was fit for the young king to undertake in his own person, and the dismal prospect, how all the neighbour princes were solicitous not to pay him any such civilities as might encourage him to expect any thing from them; were all arguments of perplexity and consternation to all men, who had been moderately versed in the transaction of affairs; and were too many things to be looked upon at once, and yet could not be effectually looked upon but together. So that the chancellor used to say, "that all the business he had been conversant in, from the beginning to his coming to the Hague, had not administered half the difficulties and disconsolation, had not half so much disturbed and distracted his understanding, and broken his mind, as the next six months from that time had done." Nor could he see any light before him to present a way to the king, by entering into which he might hopefully avoid the greatest misery that ever prince had been exposed to. His own particular condition (under so general a mortification) afflicted him very little, having long composed himself

by a resolution, with God's blessing, to do his duty without hesitation, and to leave all the rest to the disposition of Providence.

1379 When the fleet was committed to the government of prince Rupert to embark for Ireland, it was enough foreseen by those who foresaw what naturally might fall out, that Ireland was probably like to be the place whither it might be the most counsellable for the prince himself to repair. But as it was not then seasonable in many respects to publish such an imagination; so it was not possible to keep the fleet where it then was, or in any port of the dominions of Holland, where the States were already perplexed what answer they should return if the new commonwealth should demand the ships, or whether they were not obliged to deliver them: and therefore no time was to be lost. Nor was the voyage itself like to be secure, but by the benefit of the winter season, and the unquiet seas they were to pass through; which would have made it too dangerous a voyage for the person of the prince, who must find a shorter passage thither, when it should be necessary.

1380 When that inhuman impiety was acted at London, and the young king had in some degree recovered his spirits from the sudden astonishment, and had received the vile proclamation and propositions from Scotland, his majesty with those few who were of nearest trust concluded, "that it would be shortly of necessity to transport himself into Ireland;" which was to be the highest secret, that it might be equally unsuspected in England and in Scotland. "That he should incognito, or with a light train, pass through France to Nantz, or some other port of Bretagne, where two or three ships of war, which he could not doubt of obtaining by the favour of his brother the prince of Orange, might attend him; and from thence he might with least hazard embark for the nearest coast of Ireland, where the marquis of Ormond might meet him."

1381 This being concluded in that manner, the lord Cottington went in a morning to the king before he was dressed; and desired, “that when he was ready, he would give him a private audience in his closet.” He there told him, “that his majesty had taken the most prudent resolution that his condition would admit, for Ireland; where there remained yet some foundation for hope. That for himself he was so old and infirm,” (for to his seventy-five years, which was then his age, he had frequent and painful visitations of the gout and the stone,) “that his majesty could not expect his personal attendance in so many journeys by land as he must be exposed to: yet having served the crown throughout the reign of his grandfather and his father, he was very desirous to finish his life in his majesty’s service.

1382 “That he had reflected upon the woful condition his affairs were in, not more by the power of his rebels, than by being abandoned by all his neighbour princes. That it was too apparent, that neither of them would embark themselves in his quarrel; so that the utmost he could hope from them was, that in some secret manner they might contribute such a supply and relief to him, as might give him a subsistence, till some new accidents and alterations at home or abroad might produce a more seasonable conjuncture. That even in that particular, he doubted the magnanimity or generosity of princes would not be very conspicuous: however, it being all his present dependance, he must try all the ways he could to provoke them to that disposition.

1383 “That he knew the crown of Spain was so low at that time, that whatever their inclinations might be, they could neither supply him with ships or men or money towards the raising or supporting of an army: yet that he knew too, that there is such a proportion of honour, and of a generous compassion and bounty, that is inseparable from that crown, and even runs through that people, which

other nations are not inspired with. And he was confident, that if his majesty sent an ambassador thither, how necessitous soever that court might be, it would never refuse to make such an assignment of money to him as might, well husbanded, provide a decent support for him in Ireland; where likewise the king of Spain had power to do his majesty more offices than any other prince could do, or he any where else, by the universal influence he had upon the Irish nation. And général Owen O'Neile, who was the only man that then obstructed the union of that people in a submission to the king, had been bred up in the court of Spain, and had spent all his time in the service of that crown, and had still his sole dependance upon it; and therefore it was to be presumed, that he might be induced by direction from Madrid, to conform himself to a conjunction with the marquis of Ormond, the king's lieutenant there." He said, "that his majesty knew well that he had spent a great part of his life in that court, in the service of his grandfather and father; and he would be willing to end his days there, if it were thought of use to his affairs."

1384 The discourse was too reasonable not to make impression upon the king; which discovering in his countenance, the other desired him, "that he would think that day upon all that he had said, without communicating it to any body, till the next morning, when he would again wait on him, to know his opinion upon the whole; for if his majesty should approve of what he proposed, he had another particular to offer, before the matter should be publicly debated." When he came the next morning, and found the king much pleased with what he had before discoursed, and asked what the other particular was that he intended to offer; the lord Cottington told him, "that he was very glad his majesty was so well pleased with what he had proposed, which he confessed the more he had revolved himself, the more hopeful the success

appeared to him; which made him the more solicitous, that through any inadvertency such a design might not miscarry."

1385 He put him then in mind again "of his great age, how unlike it was that he should be able to hold out such a journey, or, if he did, the fatigue thereof would probably cast him into a fit of the gout or the stone, or both, which if he should outlive, he should be long detained from the prosecution of his business, which the less vigorously pursued would be more ineffectual;" and therefore proposed, "that he might have a companion with him, of more youth and a stronger constitution, who would receive some benefit by the information and advice he should be able to give him, the advantage whereof would redound for the present, and might more in the future, to the king's service;" and in fine proposed, "that the chancellor of the exchequer might be joined in the commission with him, and accompany him into Spain, from whence if they made haste in their journey, they might make such a progress in that court, that he might be able to attend his majesty in Ireland in a very short time after his arrival there; whilst himself remained still at Madrid, to prosecute all further opportunities to advance his service."

1386 The king was surprised with the overture; and asked "whether the chancellor would be willing to undertake the employment, and whether he had spoken with him of it." To which the other presently replied, "that he knew not, nor had ever spoke to him of it, nor would do, till his majesty, if he liked it, should first prepare him; for he knew well he would at first be startled at it, and it may be might take it unkindly. That he knew well how much of the weight of his business lay upon the chancellor's shoulders, and in that respect that many others would not be willing he should be absent: yet that there was a long vacation in view, and there could be little to be done till the king should come into Ireland;

and by that time he might be with him again, with such a return from Spain as might be welcome and convenient to him. And therefore if his majesty would first break the matter to him, he would then take the work upon him; and he believed he should give him such reasons, since he could not suspect his friendship," (which was very notorious, and they lived then together,) "as would dispose him to the journey."

1387 When the king spake to him of it, as a thing that had resulted from his own thoughts; "that he had more hope to obtain some supply from Spain, than from any other place; that no man could be so fit to solicit it as the lord Cottington, and nobody so fit to accompany him as he, who might be with him in Ireland in a short time;" he said, "he had spoken with lord Cottington to undertake the employment, to which he was not averse; but he had expressly refused to undertake it alone, and he knew that no companion would be so acceptable to him as he would be."

1388 The chancellor did not at first dissemble the apprehension, that this device had been contrived at Paris, where he knew that neither of them were acceptable, nor were wished to be about the king, or to have so much credit with him as they were both thought to have: but the king quickly expelled that jealousy. And he desired a short time to consider of it; and received such reasons (besides kindness in the invitation) from the lord Cottington, that he did not submit only to the king's pleasure, but very willingly undertook the employment: and, though it was afterwards delayed by the importunity of many, and the queen's own advice, who thought the chancellor's attendance about the person of the king her son to be more useful to his service than it was like to be in the other climate, the king was firm to his purpose; and despatched them shortly after his coming into France, when he resolved and prepared for his own expedition

into Ireland, in order to which there were then some Dutch ships of war that waited for him at St. Malo's.

1389 This was the occasion and ground of his second retreat and recess from a very uneasy condition, of which he was not more weary in respect of the difficulty and melancholy of the business, from which he could not entirely disentangle himself by absence, than in respect of the company he was to keep in the conducting it, who had humours and inclinations uneasy to him, irresolute in themselves, and contrary for the most part to his judgment. And he did still acknowledge, that he did receive much refreshment and benefit by that negotiation. For though the employment proved ineffectual to the purposes for which it was intended, by the king's finding it necessary to divert his intended journey for Ireland, into that of Scotland; yet he had vacancy to recollect and compose his broken thoughts; and mended his understanding, in the observation and experience of another kind of negotiation than he had formerly been acquainted with, under the assistance, advice, and friendship of the most able person, and the best acquainted with foreign negotiations and the general interests of the several kings and states in Christendom, of any statesman then alive in Europe, and who delighted in giving him all the information he could. He was conversant in a court of another nature and humour, of another kind of grandeur and gravity, of another constitution and policy; and where ambassadors are more esteemed and regarded, and live with more conversation and a better intelligence amongst themselves, than in any other court in the world.

1390 The less of business he had, he was the more vacant to study the language and the manners and the government of that nation. He made a collection of and read many of the best books which are extant in that language, especially in the histories of their civil and ecclesiastical



state. Upon the reading the Pontifical History written by Illescas in two volumes, and continued by one or two others in three other volumes, he begun there first his Animadversions upon the Superiority and Supremacy of the Pope, which he afterwards continued to a perfect work. Here he resumed the continuation of his Devotions on the Psalms, and other discourses of piety and devotion, which he reviewed and enlarged in his later times of leisure. Though he underwent in this employment many mortifications of several kinds, yet he still acknowledged that he learned much during the time of his being in Spain, from whence he returned a little before the battle of Worcester; and after the king's miraculous escape into France, he quickly waited upon his majesty, and was never separated from his person, till sixteen or seventeen years after by his banishment.

<sup>1391</sup> This he called his third and most blessed recess, in which God vouchsafed to exercise many of his mercies towards him. And though he entered into it with many very disconsolate circumstances; yet in a short time, upon the recovery of a better state of health, and being remitted into a posture of ease and quietness, and secure from the power of his enemies, he recovered likewise a marvellous tranquillity and serenity of mind, by making a strict review and recollection into all the actions, all the faults and follies, committed by himself and others in his last continued fatigue of seventeen or eighteen years; in which he had received very many signal instances of God's favour, and in which he had so behaved himself, that he had the good opinion and friendship of those of the best fame, reputation, and interest, and was generally believed to have deserved very well of the king and kingdom.

<sup>1392</sup> In all this retirement he was very seldom vacant, and then only when he was under some sharp visitation of the gout, from reading excellent books, or writing some anim-

adversions and exercitations of his own, as appears by the papers and notes which he left. He learned the Italian and French languages, in which he read many of the choicest books. Now he finished the work which his heart was most set upon, the History of the late Civil Wars and Transactions to the Time of the King's Return in the year 1660; of which he gave the king advertisement. He finished his Reflections and Devotions upon the Psalms of David, which he dedicated to his children; which was ended at Montpelier before the death of the duchess. He wrote and finished his answer to Mr. Hobbes's *Leviathan*, to which he prefixed an epistle dedicatory to the king, if his majesty would permit it. He wrote a good volume of Essays, Divine, Moral, and Political, to which he was always adding. He prepared a Discourse Historical of the Pretence and Practice of the successive Popes from the beginning of that Jurisdiction they assume; in which he thought he had fully vindicated the power and authority of kings from that odious usurpation. He entered upon the forming a method for the better disposing the History of England, that it may be more profitably and exactly communicated than it hath yet been. He left so many papers of several kinds, and cut out so many pieces of work, that a man may conclude, that he never intended to be idle.

1393 In a word, he did not only by all possible administrations subdue his affections and passions, to make his mind conformable to his present fortune; but did all he could to lay in a stock of patience and provision, that might support him in any future exigent or calamity that might befall him: yet with a cheerful expectation, that God would deliver him from that powerful combination which then oppressed him.

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- Chatham, attempt made upon it by the Dutch, 1090.
- Chillingworth, Mr. William, one of Edward Hyde's intimate friends, i. 34. wrote his excellent book against Mr. Nott the Jesuit at sir Lucius Carey's house, i. 41. spent all his younger time in disputation, i. 56. becomes a sceptic in the greatest mysteries of faith, *ib.* falls off to the church of Rome, i. 57. goes to St. Omer's to perfect his conversion by the conversation of the greatest men there, *ib.* finds no satisfaction, and returns with as much haste from them to the church of England, *ib.* thought all war to be unlawful, i. 60. shut up in Arundel Castle, *ib.* falls into the rebels' hands, *ib.* is cruelly treated by them, and dies shortly after in prison, *ib.* character, i. 56—60.
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- Cotton, Charles, one of Edw. Hyde's chief acquaintance, i. 26. his character, i. 28.
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- Falmouth, earl of, (see sir Charles Berkley.)
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- Glencarne, earl of, one of the Scotch commissioners, 95. his character and some account of him, *ib.* made chancellor of Scotland, 96.
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- solves to go abroad, ii. 17. prevails on the king to pass the bill against the bishops, ii. 19. goes to Dover accompanied by the king, ii. 23. puts to sea, ii. 24. description of the king's affection for her, iii. 14. the king promises not to make any peace but by her mediation, iii. 16. lands in the north, iii. 18. forms a design of drawing the prince into France, iii. 56. is displeased at the chancellor's going to Spain, v. 37. her strong opinion of his sincerity, v. 38. her reception of him on his return from Spain, vi. 8. complains to him of the duke of York's conduct, *ib.* is much offended with sir Edward Herbert and sir George Ratcliff, *ib.* sends Mr. William Mountague to confer with the chancellor, vi. 12. greatly incensed at the duke of York's marriage, 59. congratulated by the privy-council on her return, 63. receives the chancellor graciously, *ib.* greatly offended with the duke of York's behaviour towards the duchess, 69. suddenly alters her behaviour, *ib.* the reason of it, *ib.* is reconciled to the duchess, 75. and to the chancellor, *ib.* brings a natural son of the king's into England, 467. leaves England, 633. prevents the duke of York's going to sea again, 657. endeavours to bring about a peace between England and France, 1037. sends the earl of St. Alban's into England for that purpose, *ib.* forbids Dr. Cosins to officiate to the protestants in her suite, vi. 9. on which the chancellor remonstrates with her, vi. 10. her majesty's answer, *ib.*  
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- Hubert, a Frenchman, makes a strange confession that he had caused the fire of London, and had been hired in Paris a year before to do it, 899. upon which he is executed, 901.
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- Humskerke, Laurence Van, advises prince Rupert to make an attempt on the island of Schelling, 882.
- Huntingdon, ii. 37.
- Hussy, sir James, one of the masters in chancery, brings the plague to Oxford, 1625, i. 8. dies in New college, *ib.*
- Hyde, Alice, aunt to lord Clarendon, i. 2. married to John St. Loe, *ib.*
- Hyde, Anne, aunt to lord Clarendon, i. 2. married to Thomas Baynard, *ib.*
- Hyde, Anne, daughter of the chancellor, appointed maid of honour to the princess royal, vi. 40. is married to the duke of York, 48. her character traduced by sir Charles Berkley, 62. upon which the duke resolves to deny the marriage, *ib.* is delivered of a son, 64. accepts sir Charles Berkley's submission, 70. the queen mother is reconciled to her, 75. endeavours used to lessen the king's esteem of her, 863.
- Hyde, Edward, (afterwards earl of Clarendon,) born at Dinton, co. Wilts, i. 1. third son of Henry Hyde, i. 7. born 18th of Feb. 1608, *ib.* educated by a schoolmaster, to whom his father had given the vicarage of the parish, *ib.* sent to the university of Oxford at the age of thirteen, *ib.* designed to the clergy, *ib.* was to make his own fortune by his industry, *ib.* candidate for a demi-ship of Magdalen college, *ib.* recommended by king James to Dr. Langton the president, *ib.* but was not chosen, *ib.* remains at Magdalen hall, *ib.* under the tuition of Mr. John Oliver, *ib.* chosen demy the following year, though there was no vacancy, i. 8. upon the death of his elder brother Henry, is sent by his father to the inns of court, *ib.* enters at the Middle Temple, *ib.* in consequence of the plague did not go there till Michaelmas term, 1625, *ib.* takes his degree of bachelor of arts, *ib.* character at that time, *ib.* arrives in London, i. 9. seized with a quartan ague, *ib.* goes to Pirton, *ib.* recovers, and returns to the Middle Temple, *ib.* gets acquainted with some officers, *ib.* retreats from their company without hurt or prejudice, *ib.* cannot bring himself to an industrious pursuit of the law study, *ib.* loved polite learning and Roman history, *ib.* goes the Norfolk circuit in 1628, i. 10. arrives at Cambridge, and lodges in Trinity college, *ib.* seized with the small-pox, *ib.* put under the care of Mr. Crane, *ib.* in great danger, *ib.* recovers and goes to his father's house at Pirton, *ib.* receives the account of the death of the duke of Buckingham, i. 11. returns to his studies at the Middle Temple, *ib.* loses his uncle and patron sir Nicholas Hyde, i. 12. marries the daughter of sir George Ayliffe, i. 13. loses his wife within less than six months from the small-pox, at Reading, *ib.* employed in a cause in the court, *ib.* the occasion of his introduction to the marquis of Hamilton, *ib.* marries the daughter of sir Thomas Aylesbury, bart., i. 15. betakes himself seriously to his profession, *ib.* laments his father's death, i. 17. his name mentioned by Mr. D. Harvey to abp. Laud, i. 21. is sent for by the archbishop, i. 22. the conversation between them respecting the complaints against the earl of Portland as treasurer, *ib.* is taken particular notice of by the archbishop, i. 23. in consequence receives encouragement in his profession, *ib.* method of spending his time, *ib.* some account of his chief acquaintance, i. 26. of these he looked upon Mr. Selden with most affection and reverence, i. 34. afterwards he forms a more intimate friendship with others, whose characters are given,

*ib.* fortunate in his acquaintance and friendships in his profession, i. 61. the countenance he received from certain great men made him looked upon by the judges in Westminster-hall with great condescension, i. 63. reconciles abp. Laud to the earl of Hertford, i. 64. his free expostulation with the archbishop, i. 66. his reverence for, and opinion of him, i. 69. gives up his whole heart to his profession, i. 70. his family, three sons and a daughter, *ib.* reflections on the younger part of his life, i. 71. his own character, i. 72. chosen to serve for two places in the parliament of 1640, viz. Wotton-Basset and Shaftesbury, i. 77. chooses to serve for the former, *ib.* his first speech in the house against the earl marshal's court, &c., i. 78. endeavours to prevail on abp. Laud to oppose the dissolution of the parliament, i. 81. is chosen to serve in the second parliament of 1640, i. 83. the parliament prejudiced against him, *ib.* renews his motion for the suppression of the earl marshal's court, i. 84. succeeds in abolishing it, *ib.* receives the thanks of the earl marshal for his treatment of his person on that occasion, *ib.* lays aside his gown, and wholly gives himself up to public business, i. 86. in the chair of the committee against the court of York, *ib.* and of that against the judges, *ib.* and against the marshal's court, *ib.* and of that concerning the lord president and council of the marches of Wales, *ib.* and of many other committees, i. 87. particularly of an enclosure, in which arose the first cause of Oliver Cromwell's enmity to him, *ib.* in the chair in the grand committee of the house for the extirpation of episcopacy, i. 89. the discontented party make great court to him, *ib.* his conversation with Nathaniel Fiennes respecting his attachment to the church, i. 90. and with Harry Martin about the proceedings of the houses, i. 91. is sent for by the king, i. 92. their discourse, i. 93. undertakes for the care of the church and episcopacy till the king goes for Scotland, *ib.* receives the king's thanks by secretary Nicholas, i. 94. draws up

an answer to the parliament's remonstrance, ii. 1. reads it to lord Digby, *ib.* refuses to have it communicated to the king, *ib.* the king hears of it, and sends for it, ii. 2. it is read before the privy-council, ii. 3. and is printed, *ib.* sent for by the king, who offers him the place of solicitor general, which he declines, ii. 4. refuses another post, *ib.* is intrusted, jointly with lord Falkland and sir J. Colepepper, with the conduct of the king's affairs in parliament, ii. 5. account of his disposition and principles, ii. 13. sent by the parliament to the king with a message respecting the removal of the prince of Wales from Richmond, ii. 24. prevails with the king to alter his answer to the parliament, ii. 26. the king's discourse with him in the privy gallery at Greenwich, ii. 27. is directed by the king to prepare answers for him to the parliament's declaration and messages, ii. 28. is surprised in the midst of his discourse by the earls of Essex and Holland, ii. 29. sends the king an account of a message from parliament respecting their privileges, ii. 31. his advice thereupon, ii. 32. a design formed to send him to the Tower, ii. 39. it is defeated, *ib.* required by his majesty to attend him at York, ii. 41. begins his journey to York, ii. 42. stops at Ditchley, ii. 44. stops at Nostall, *ib.* sends the king an answer to the declaration of the 19th of May, *ib.* receives from the king the declaration of the 26th of May, and is desired to answer it speedily, *ib.* writes to the king from Nostall in favour of the lord keeper, ii. 50. goes to York, *ib.* his reception there, ii. 52. he reconciles the king to the lord keeper, ii. 54. is required by the committee from parliament to attend the house, ii. 56. his answer, *ib.* advises the king not to publish the answer to the parliament's nineteen propositions, ii. 61. lord Falkland's expostulation with him thereon, ii. 62. his conversation with the earl of Holland, ii. 63. is exempted from pardon by a vote of the houses, *ib.* his conversation with sir Edmund Varney, ii. 66. laments the loss of many of his writ-



ings, ii. 69. declines the office of secretary of state, ii. 74. accepts the office of chancellor of the exchequer, ii. 76. is sworn of the privy-council, and knighted, ii. 77. advises the king to comply with Mr. Pierrepont's proposal of making the earl of Northumberland lord high admiral of England, iii. 10. delivers his opinion on the Scottish commissioners' request for the abolition of episcopacy, iii. 22. attends the king to Bristol, iii. 25. his office invaded by Mr. Ashburnham, iii. 31. loses his dear friend lord Falkland, iii. 34. refuses the office of secretary of state a second time, iii. 37. is made one of the junto, *ib.* dissuades the king from dissolving the parliament, iii. 41. is commanded to attend the prince into the west, iii. 49. his conversation with lord Digby concerning the prince's going to France, iii. 51. he endeavours to reconcile the king and the duke of Richmond, iii. 61-64. without success, ii. 65. his last conference with the king, ii. 66. his promise to the king at parting, iii. 67. sets out from Oxford, iii. 68. arrives at Bath, where he has the first fit of the gout, *ib.* arrives at Bristol, *ib.* goes to Scilly, iv. 1. and from thence to Jersey, *ib.* receives the prince's permission to remain there, iv. 3. remains there about two years, in great intimacy with sir George Carteret, v. 1. betakes himself to a continuance of the history begun at Scilly, *ib.* builds a lodging in Elizabeth castle, v. 5. receives great assistance from the king, in information and documents, towards his History, v. 6. publishes an answer to the parliament's declaration, that they would receive no more addresses from the king, v. 9. leaves Jersey, and goes to Caen, thence to Rouen and to Dieppe, v. 10. whereto he embarks for Dunkirk, v. 12. and afterwards proceeds to join the prince's fleet, v. 14. but is taken by some frigates of Ostend, v. 15. plundered and carried into that port, *ib.* is set at liberty, and promised satisfaction, v. 17. but cannot obtain it, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances, v. 20. goes to Flushing, v. 22. from thence to

Middleburgh, *ib.* embarks aboard the Hind frigate to attend the prince in the river Thames, *ib.* is driven back, *ib.* arrives at the Hague, v. 23. is appointed ambassador to the court of Spain, v. 28. which is much murmured at, v. 29. but is himself much pleased with the commission, v. 30. sends for his wife and children to Antwerp, *ib.* attends the masquerade at Madrid, v. 42. and the toros, v. 43. is visited by the other ambassadors at Madrid before his audience, v. 48. demands his audience, v. 53. prepares mourning for himself and train to appear in at the audience, *ib.* changes his purpose at the request of Don Lewis de Haro, *ib.* applies himself to learning Spanish, vi. 2. leaves Madrid, vi. 5. attacked with the gout at Pampe-luna, vi. 7. notwithstanding continues his journey, and arrives at Paris, *ib.* his reception by the queen mother, vi. 8. speaks with her upon her forbidding Dr. Cosins to officiate to the protestants in her family, vi. 9. her majesty's answer, vi. 10. confers on the subject with sir Walter Mountague, vi. 12. goes to Brussels, vi. 14. has an audience with the archduke, *ib.* joins his family at Antwerp, *ib.* goes to the duke of York at Breda, vi. 15. persuades him to return to the queen mother, *ib.* remains with his family at Antwerp, vi. 29. his friendship with sir Charles Cavendish, *ib.* whom he persuades to go to England, vi. 31. gives an account of his proceedings to the king, vi. 34. his answer to the queen, who endeavoured to attach him to her interest, vi. 36. state of his family at Antwerp, vi. 38. he removes with them to Breda, vi. 39. declines the offer made to his daughter by the princess royal, of the situation of a maid of honour, vi. 40. which his wife accepts, and he at length gives his consent, vi. 44. answers Cromwell's declaration, vi. 46. is one of the king's council at the restoration, 3. highest in office, and thought to be so also in trust, the reasons why, 4. his intimacy with the marquis of Ormond, *ib.* some intimations made to the king at the Hague of his being very much

in the prejudice of the presbyterian party, with advice to leave him there till he himself should be settled in England, which the king receives with indignation, *ib.* his request to the king to decline giving him any protection, *ib.* his resolution of withdrawing himself, *ib.* receives from the king the list of privy counsellors recommended by Monk, 12. by the king's desire has a conference with Morrice concerning this list, *ib.* takes his seat in the house of peers with a general acceptance and respect, 15. is thought to have most credit with the king, 41. all matters referred by the king to him, *ib.* resigns the office of chancellor of the exchequer, 46. he foresees a storm of envy and malice against him, 47. is informed by the king of his daughter's marriage with the duke of York, 53. is struck to the heart with the news, 54. and breaks out into violent passions, *ib.* acts severely towards his daughter, and orders her to keep her chamber, 56. his language upon this affair in the presence of the king, *ib.* the king presents him with twenty thousand pounds, 61. and creates him a baron, *ib.* is well received by the queen mother on her return, 63. his conference with the duke of York, and answer to his highness's threats, 65. absolutely refuses to make any application towards appeasing the queen's anger, 68. the queen suddenly alters her behaviour towards him, 69. the reason given him by abbot Mountague, *ib.* receives sir Charles Berkley's professions civilly, 70. his reply to the king's reproof, 72. desires leave to retire beyond the seas, *ib.* is introduced by the earl of St. Alban's to the queen mother, 74. who is reconciled to him, 75. not elated by the marriage of his daughter, 77. some instances of his disinterestedness, 78. refuses an offer of crown lands, 80. declines being made a knight of the garter, 82. also declines being made an earl, 84. but finds he cannot prudently refuse it longer, *ib.* urged by the marquis of Ormond to resign his office of chancellor, 85. and betake himself

wholly to wait upon the king, *ib.* which he refuses, 88. anxious in council and in parliament to remove all obstructions in the way of the bill of indemnity, 132. is consulted by the king concerning a treaty of marriage with the infanta of Portugal, 151. whom he desires to refer it to a committee, 153. appointed of the committee, 154. some overtures made to him by monsieur Fouquet, the French minister, concerning the treaty with Portugal, 173. with which he acquaints the king, 178. his integrity in refusing money (ten thousand pounds) offered him by the French minister, 179. which he complains of to the king, but is desired by him to continue his correspondence, 180. expresses himself warmly upon the duke of Ormond's being made lord lieutenant of Ireland, 236. his vindication of himself with regard to Irish affairs, 278. his speech to parliament previous to its being prorogued, 351. is hated by the queen, 366. the king imparts to him all his inquietness of mind respecting the queen, 367. endeavours to reconcile their majesties, 368-387. but is unsuccessful, 388. his interest declines on the appointments of sir Harry Bennett and sir Charles Berkley, 439. however he still retains the king's favour, 440. opposes the war with the Dutch, 449. the duke offended with him for it, 452. he satisfies the duke, 453. a full statement, in vindication of himself, of the proceedings relative to the sale of Dunkirk, 454-465. his advice to the king regarding his natural son Mr. Crofts, 470. is accused of high treason by the earl of Bristol, 475. who absconds, 480. receives proposals from the bishop of Munster for an alliance against the Dutch, 553. which he communicates to the king, 554. beseeches the king to reconsider his appointment of lord Ashley to be treasurer of the prize-money, 577. is obliged by the king to seal the grant, 581. measures taken to prejudice the king against him, 582. opposes the bill for liberty of conscience, 585. speaks against it in the house of lords, 589.

and drops some unguarded expressions, 590. the king offended with him upon it, 591. refuses to put the seal to the Canary merchants' charter till they had satisfied the city of London, 621. a vindication of the chancellor in this affair, 630. his reflection upon the attempt made on the Dutch at Bergen, 690. substance of his speech to the parliament which met at Oxford, 701. prospect of his affairs about this time, 711. an attempt to make a breach between the chancellor and the treasurer, 717. the occasion of it, 718. is consulted by the duke of York respecting two suits he intended to make to the king, 731. is against removing the earl of Sandwich from the command of the fleet, 760. his conference with the earl, 766. the malice of lord Arlington and sir William Coventry against him, 777. is desired by the king to persuade the treasurer to resign, 812. he earnestly entreats the king against it, 814. and at length prevails, 817. his interest declines, while the courtiers affect to represent it at the highest, 917. repeats to the king the conversation which had passed between him and lord Arlington on the king's course of life, 919. he seriously remonstrates with the king, 924. delivers his opinion very freely to the king in the private committee against the bill for examining the public accounts, 949. which is soon reported to his prejudice, *ib.* in the debate of the Irish cattle bill he defends the commons by desiring the peers to restrain their encroachments, 989. he offends the lords by advising them not to insist unreasonably upon privilege, 996. advises the king against putting the treasury into commission, 1083. is against the king convening the parliament during the prorogation, 1100-1104. the storm beginning to arise against him, 1114. the house of commons incensed against him by the agency of Mr. William Coventry, 1115. his fate hastened by the singular behaviour of the duke of Buckingham, 1118. the chancellor's advice to the duke, who had requested him to interpose in his behalf with

the king, 1127. declines to give the king any advice as to staying the prosecution till the duke had surrendered himself, 1129. loses his wife, 1133. the duke of York sent to him to desire him to resign, 1134. many persons of eminence interpose in his behalf, 1136. he attends the king at Whitehall, 1137. the conference between them, 1137-1142. the king leaves him in displeasure, 1143. the duke of York interests himself in his behalf, 1145. the great seal taken from him, 1147. the duke of Buckingham is much inflamed against him, 1152. and is persuaded to concur in the prosecution of him, *ib.* the king also expresses great displeasure against him, 1153. and reflects upon him in his speech to the parliament, 1155. one Tomkins moves the house to thank the king for removing him, 1156. unfair methods used to induce the house to adopt that motion, *ib.* persons sought after to furnish matter of impeachment against him, 1159. is accused of high treason by Mr. Seymour, 1161. many advise him to make his escape, 1162. which he refuses to do, *ib.* the king declares his belief in his innocence, 1163. which he afterwards disowns, 1164. articles of the charge against him, 1166. proceedings against him in the house of commons, 1169. Mr. Seymour accuses him of high treason at the bar of the house of lords, 1173. debates in that house concerning his commitment, 1174. he is again advised to withdraw, 1178. but refuses, 1179. the king offended with him for the part he is reported to have taken with respect to the duke of Richmond's marriage, 1180. his letter to the king upon that subject, 1181. the king expresses a wish that he would withdraw, 1182. the bishop of Hereford sent to him to advise him to leave the kingdom, 1184. which he refuses to do without receiving a command from his majesty, 1186. is urged by the French ambassador to retire to France, 1189. but cannot be prevailed upon, *ib.* receives a notice from the king to withdraw, 1190. he unwillingly obeys, and leaves the kingdom, 1191. he lands at

Calais, *ib.* an instance of his generous behaviour to his enemies, 1193. his address to the house of lords on his withdrawing, 1197. which is burned by order of both houses, 1201. writes to the French court for leave to remove to Roan, 1202. which is granted to him, *ib.* on his journey he receives orders to leave France instantly, 1204. appeals to that court in consequence of the ill state of his health, 1206. the occasion of the ill treatment he meets with in France, 1207. proceedings against him in England, 1208. a bill of banishment passed against him, 1209. receives reiterated orders to quit France instantly, 1210. again represents the ill state of his health to the French court, 1211. the French king renews his commands for his speedy departure, 1212. receives an express, with a particular account of all the transactions in parliament against him, 1214. is advised by the duke of York to hasten his return, and undergo his trial, *ib.* for that purpose he returns to Calais, *ib.* where he is confined to his bed by a dangerous illness, 1215. is notwithstanding required to leave the place, and retire out of the French territories, *ib.* the French court suddenly alters its behaviour towards him, 1220. and permits him to go to what place he would, *ib.* which is a great relief and comfort to him, 1221. he returns to Roan, 1223. from thence proceeds towards Avignon, 1225. is greatly abused, and almost murdered by some English at Eureux, 1227. removes from thence to Bourbon, 1234. and from thence to Avignon, 1235. where he is received with the greatest kindness, 1236. visits Montpellier, *ib.* where he receives great civilities and respect, especially from lady Mordaunt, 1237. he writes a vindication of himself, 1243. his answer to the several articles of the charge against him, 1246-1350. enjoys great tranquillity of mind, 1351. two apprehensions discompose him, 1352. first, the insufficiency of his fortune, *ib.* this was composed in the assurance he had of the affection and piety of his children, *ib.* the second, the fear of being again persecuted in

his banishment, 1353. this removed by an entire acquiescence in the good pleasure of God, 1355. reflections on the wonderful and unusual proceedings and prosecution against him, 1356. which raise his confidence in God, 1357. his reflections on his conduct from the time of the king's restoration, 1358. blames himself for the vast expense he had made in the building of his house, *ib.* esteems himself most happy in what he calls his three acquiescences, or retreats from public business, 1360. his first acquiescence was his residence in Jersey; his second was, when he was ambassador in Spain; and his third was his last recess, by the disgrace he underwent, and by the act of banishment, 1361. in all these he had learned more, knew himself and others better, and served God and his country with more devotion, *ib.* a summary recapitulation of his life, 1362. his writings, 1392.

Hyde, Henry, father to lord Clarendon, i. 1. of the Middle Temple, i. 4. master of arts in Oxford, *ib.* has an inclination to travel, *ib.* goes to the Spa for his health, *ib.* passes through Germany into Italy, to Florence, Syena, and Rome, *ib.* averse to the Roman catholics, *ib.* protected at Rome by cardinal Allen, *ib.* returns to England, i. 5. persuaded by his mother to marry, *ib.* marries Mary, daughter of Edward Langford, *ib.* lives a private life at Dinton, *ib.* his character, *ib.* serves as Burgess in several parliaments, *ib.* has four sons and five daughters, i. 6. removes to Pirton, i. 9. in a very dangerous state of health, i. 16. removes to Salisbury, i. 17. dies suddenly aged sixty-nine, *ib.* character, *ib.*

Hyde, Henry, brother of lord Clarendon, i. 6. died aged twenty-six or twenty-seven, *ib.* was master of arts in the university of Oxford, *ib.*

Hyde, Joanna, aunt to lord Clarendon, i. 2. married to Edward Younge, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, of West-Hatch, grandfather to lord Clarendon, i. 1. his education, i. 2. a clerk in one of the auditor's offices of the exchequer, *ib.* married Anne widow of Matthew Calthurst, *ib.* had four

sons and four daughters, *ib.* purchased the manor of West-Hatch, i. 3. where he died, *ib.* left the bulk of his estate to his eldest son Robert, *ib.* and the impropriate rectory of Dinton to his second son Laurence, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, uncle to lord Clarendon, i. 2. afterwards sir Laurence, and attorney general to queen Anne, i. 3. a lawyer of great name and practice, *ib.* possessed from his father the impropriate rectory of Dinton, *ib.*

Hyde, Laurence, brother of lord Clarendon, i. 6. died young, *ib.*

Hyde, Nicholas, uncle to lord Clarendon, i. 2. treasurer of the Middle Temple, i. 8. afterwards lord chief justice of the king's bench, i. 3, 8. death and character, i. 12.

Hyde, Nicholas, brother of lord Clarendon, i. 6. died young, *ib.*

Hyde, Robert, of Norbury, co. Chester, great grandfather to lord Clarendon, i. 1.

Hyde, Robert, uncle to lord Clarendon, i. 2. married Anne Castilian, i. 3.

Hyde, Susanna, aunt to lord Clarendon, i. 2. married to sir G. Fuy, *ib.*

## I.

James I. recommends Edward Hyde to Dr. Langton, i. 7.

Jermyn, Mr. Thomas, iv. 1.

Jermyn, Mr., master of the horse to the duke of York, 193.

Jersey, iv. 1.—v. 9.

Ignoto, the illegitimate son of lady Roos, 1003.

Indemnity, act of, transactions in parliament concerning it, 129. great delays respecting it, 132. is at last passed, 133.

Inspruck, the archduke of, character of his minister at Madrid, v. 51.

Insurrection, danger of, 428.

Johnson, Ben, one of Edward Hyde's chief acquaintance, i. 26. his character, *ib.*

Ireland, iv. 1. commissioners sent thence to the king, 91. state of that kingdom, 107. commissioners sent from different parts of the kingdom, *ib.* commissioners from the state, *ib.* deputies from the bishops and clergy, 109. a committee deputed by the adventurers, 110.

a committee from the army in present pay there, "for the arrears due to them," 119. a committee from the officers who had served the king, 120. a committee for the Irish catholics, 121. Monk still continues lord lieutenant, 124. lord Roberts made deputy, 128. affairs of, taken into consideration, 197. church lands restored, and new bishops appointed, 203. the Irish catholics favoured by the king, 205. the different pleas of the Irish, 206—216. a great number of the Irish catholics who had served the king restored, 217. the first act of settlement passed, 228. three lords justices appointed, 229. partiality of the commissioners appointed by the first act, 230. a second act of settlement transmitted to the king, 231. new commissioners appointed to execute it, *ib.* second act passed, 233. they publish their intended method of proceeding, 240. their sentences and decrees favourable to the Irish, 241. reflections on their proceedings, 244. too many of the Irish rebels restored to their estate, 246. many who had served the king condemned by the commissioners, *ib.* many of their decrees made upon settlements notoriously forged, 253. the defence of the commissioners on these proceedings, 254. their defence by no means satisfactory, 258. their decree in favour of the marquis of Antrim extremely complained of, 259. the difficulties of a settlement increased, 270. by some acts of bounty from his majesty, *ib.* which are attributed to the earl of Orrery, 272. the different parties agree upon an expedient for a settlement, 276. the third act passed, *ib.* the privy-council remonstrate against the bill prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England, 957.

Italy, infested by the arms of Spain and France, i. 74.

## K.

Killigrew, Harry, ii. 45.

Killigrew, Mrs., one of the maids of honour to the princess royal, vi. 40. dies of the small-pox, *ib.*

Kingston, co. Wilts, i. 2.

Kyneton, co. Wilts, i. 2.

## L.

- Lambert, general, 306. close prisoner in the Tower, 19. still has his faction at work, *ib.*
- Lane, Mr., attorney to the prince of Wales, and afterwards chief baron of the exchequer, a friend of Edward Hyde's in his profession, i. 62. upon the death of lord Littleton, is made keeper of the great seal, *ib.* dies in banishment, *ib.*
- Langford, Edward, of Trowbridge, i. 5.
- Langford, Mary, married to Henry Hyde, father of lord Clarendon, i. 5.
- Langton, Dr., president of Magdalen college, Oxford, i. 7. king James recommends Edward Hyde to him, *ib.* pretends that the letter came too late, *ib.* receives reprehension from lord Conway for not giving more respect to the king's letter, i. 8.
- Laud, William, archbishop of Canterbury, i. 18. one of the commissioners for managing the treasurer's office, *ib.* character upon undertaking that duty, *ib.* receives information and complaints from Mr. Harvey, i. 20, 21. sends for Edward Hyde, i. 22. is reconciled to the earl of Hertford through Mr. Hyde, i. 64. his greatest want, a true friend, i. 65. Mr. Hyde's free expostulation with him, i. 66.
- Lautherdale, earl of, one of the Scotch commissioners, 96. his character and some account of him, *ib.* is made secretary of state in Scotland, *ib.* opposes the reestablishment of episcopacy in Scotland, 100. strives to get it delayed, 101. his discourse makes some impression on the king, 105. his design is discovered by the other commissioners, 106. and prevented, *ib.*
- Lawson, sir John, 154. much consulted by the duke of York, 598. killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, 645. his character, 646.
- Lee, the lady, (afterwards countess of Rochester,) ii. 44.
- Leicester, earl of, i. 45.
- Lindsey, earl of, 196. has Cromwell's leave to attend the king's funeral, *ib.* lord high chamberlain of England, 82. is created knight of the garter by the chancellor's means, *ib.*
- Lionne, monsieur de, 1211. secretary of state in France on the death of cardinal Mazarine, 173.
- Littleton, lord keeper, out of favour at court, ii. 48. Mr. Hyde reconciles the king to him, ii. 54.
- Liturgy, an account of the revisal of it, 307. some of the bishops are against all alterations in it, 308. others press both for alterations and additions, 309. inveighed against by all the factious preachers of all persuasions, 314. presented to the house of lords with the king's confirmation, 320. consented to by them, 321.
- London, the plague there in 1625, i. 8. the small-pox rages there in 1628, i. 10. opposes the Canary merchants' petition for a charter, 621. a terrible fire breaks out Sept. 1, 1666, 887. which continues four days, 896. it decreases, *ib.* various surmises and idle stories respecting it, 899. the inestimable loss sustained by the fire, 903.
- Lopez, Dr., a learned Jew and physician, vi. 7.
- Lords, house of, (see Parliament.)
- Lorn, lord, son of the marquis of Argyle, restored, and created earl of Argyle, 498.
- Loudon, earl of, iii. 19.
- Low Countries, i. 45.
- Lumley, the lord, i. 72.
- Lutterworth, ii. 44.

## M.

- Madrid, v. 49.
- Maltravers, the lord, ii. 77.
- Manchester, the earl of, i. 63, 87. made lord chamberlain, 44. one of the committee appointed to enter into a treaty with the Portuguese ambassador concerning the king's marriage, 154.
- Mandeville, the lord, son of the earl of Manchester, i. 87, 88.
- Manly, sir Richard, i. 89.
- Marlborough, taken by the king's forces, ii. 78.
- Marlborough, the earl of, killed in the first engagement with the Dutch, 644.
- Martin, Harry, his conversation with Mr. Hyde, i. 91. owns himself a republican, *ib.*
- Martin, sir Harry, i. 86.

- Masquerade, the, at Madrid, description of it, v. 42.
- Maurice, prince, disunion between him and prince Rupert, iii. 25.
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 York, duke of, left by the king his father at Richmond, ii. 35. sent for by the king, *ib.* his education neglected, vi. 16. account of his conduct to the queen mother, vi. 17. cause of his leaving Paris, vi. 20. returns to Paris, vi. 28. marries the chancellor's daughter, 48. desires the chancellor not to be offended with his daughter, 58. in consequence of sir Charles Berkley's insinuations against her, he resolves to deny the marriage, 62. is incensed against the chancellor, 65. grows melancholy, 67. is much pleased with sir Charles Berkley's confession of the falsehood of the charge he brought against the duchess, *ib.* to whom he writ that he would speedily visit her, 68. pleased with the queen mother's change of behaviour towards him, 71. proposes to the chancellor to accept of the garter, 82. is displeased at his refusal, *ib.* made governor of the African company, ii. 444. procures a charter for it, *ib.* is in favour of a war with the Dutch, 447. endeavours to persuade the king to engage in it, 449. is offended with the chancellor for opposing it, 452. but satisfied by his explanation, 454. consults with three eminent sea-officers, (on the breaking out of the Dutch war,) 598. he puts to sea, 601. many noblemen attend him as volunteers, *ib.* continually sends for reinforcements, 634. returns to the English coast, 635. engages the Dutch, and gains a signal victory, 638-642. the queen mother prevents his going to sea again, 657. persuaded by Mr. Coventry to spend the summer of 1665 at York, 664. consults the chancellor about two suits which

he intends to make to the king, 731. moves the king to make sir George Savile a viscount, 735. which is refused, 737. desires that his secretary, Mr. William Coventry, may be admitted of the privy-council, 739. which is granted, *ib.* highly offended with the earl of Sandwich, 749. an attempt to raise jealousies of him in the king, 860. his temper and disposition, 864. is sent by the king to the chancellor to desire him to resign, 1134. interests himself in behalf of the chancellor, 1145. asks the king whether he desires to have the chancellor's life, or that he should

be condemned to perpetual banishment, 1163. continues his services in the chancellor's behalf, 1177. unfortunately falls sick of the small-pox, *ib.* receives from the king an intimation of his wish that the chancellor would withdraw, 1190. which he communicates to him by the bishop of Winchester, *ib.*

Young, Edward, of Durnford near Salisbury, i. 2. marries Joanna Hyde, *ib.*

## Z.

Zested, Hannibal, ambassador from Denmark to France, his conduct in England, 551.





